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ABSTRACT

This study offers a description of the daytime programs and facilities serving the preschool population in Denmark, with emphasis on the types of programs offered, their administrative organization, minimum standards, scope and cost, and supply and demand. The greatest detail is given to the "børnehave" and "børnehaveklasse" serving the 3-to 7-year-old population. These programs are seen in their historical perspective and contemporary context with regard to the Danish social responsibility and policies for child welfare. Educational philosophies behind the programs and the official goals for them are reported. Other institutions generally related to the early childhood education process (such as colleges for teacher training and further education, education libraries, research institutes, teacher centers) were investigated. The journals and organizations publishing materials relevant to child care are reviewed, and the nature and extent of Danish research in early childhood are reported. (Author/ED)

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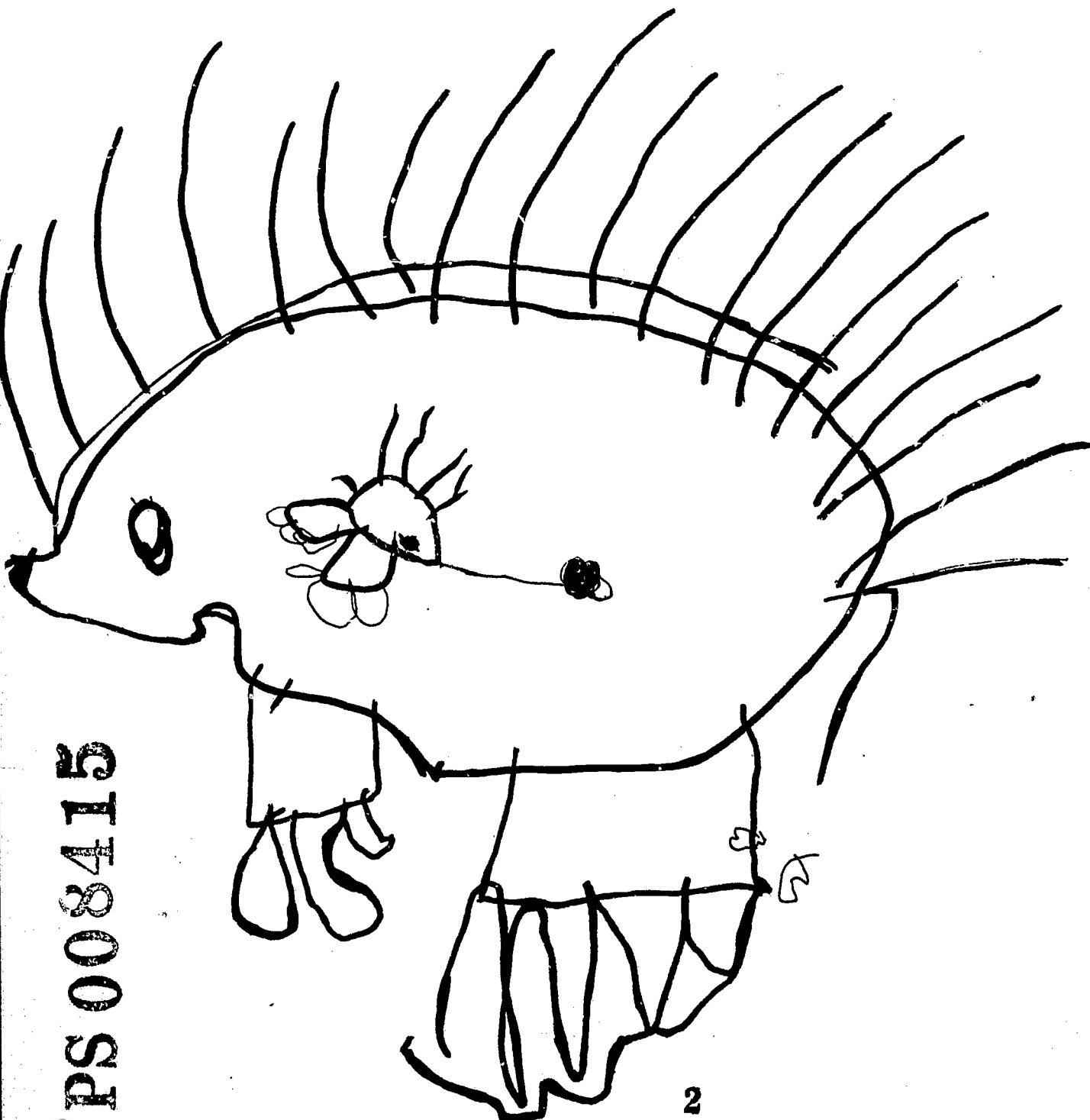
CHILD CARE IN DENMARK: PART I
POLICIES AND DAYTIME PROGRAMS IN THEIR SOCIAL CONTEXT

BY

CONSTANCE G. DUBIN-SNYDER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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by
Constance G. Dubin-Snyder

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide base-line description in English of all daytime programs and facilities serving the preschool population in Denmark. The emphasis in PART I is on elucidation of the types of programs offered, their administrative organization, minimum standards, scope and cost, and supply and demand. The greatest detail is given given to the børnehav and børnehaveklasse serving the three to seven year old population. These programs are seen in their historical perspective and contemporary context with regard to the Danish social responsibility and policies for child welfare. Educational philosophies behind the programs and the official goals for them are reported. Other institutions generally related to the early childhood education process were investigated. These include the colleges for teacher training and further education, the education library, research institutes, teacher centers and professional meetings. The journals and organizations publishing material relevant to child care are reviewed and the nature and extent of Danish research in early childhood are reported.

PART II of this study focuses on the educational component of the børnehav and børnehaveklasse programs. Data was collected from a sample of 20 groups through intensive observation, interviews, and a site-visit instrument. The physical environments, inventory, daily plan, characteristic activities and teacher management and organization are reported, and the nature of interpersonal relationships analysed. PART II is bound under separate cover.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Controversy over the establishment of nationwide public preschool programs in America continues on two levels. On the systems level debate concerns the degree to which there should be a commitment to out-of-the-home child care as a fundamental public institution. In recent years the discussion has shifted more from issues of "if" to "how" services can be delivered and administered on a large scale.

On the ideological level, debate has advanced beyond consideration of custodial schemes to programs incorporating education, health and family support components. But stormy upheaval continues among early childhood professionals with regard to which educational approaches best serve the needs of different populations of children.

The real need for responsible daytime child care in America is well documented. A radical discrepancy exists between the numbers of preschool children with working mothers and the number of places in acceptable child care settings.¹ Only 5 percent of working mothers' children are enrolled in licensed services² and only 3 percent of these are in group centers.³ The nuclear family of one or two parents bearing numerous and diverse commitments to society simply cannot accomplish in the way of child rearing what larger extended families once could. Furthermore, the environments of modern cities and urban dwellings restrict the child's natural modes of learning and remove him from important experiences appropriate to his conceptual level of understanding. Child oriented environments need to be created in order for children to have safe,

sensitive and stimulating situations where they can explore and experiment freely, interact with peers and concerned adults and progress through the normal sequences of development.

In the United States, institution of new effective forms for child care is seriously retarded, in spite of the nation's leading international position in basic research on infancy and child development. Politicians oppose a national child care operation on the claim that the cost is too high. And children, lacking both economic resources and votes, remain a powerless population subgroup. Child welfare is consistently relegated to low priority status behind more politically expedient causes. The U.S. government annually spends over \$1750 per person over 65 years of age in contrast to \$190 per person under 21 years of age. The wisdom of investing in affirmative early childhood programs has not been fully appreciated either as a means of developing a valuable national resource or as a preventative measure against developmental distortions which later on necessitate far more costly and complicated rehabilitation schemes.

Many factors besides financial ones have operated to discourage the development of a sound child care system. In America tremendous value is placed on independence. Pride in family self-sufficiency has a corollary in a veiled disdain for welfare and for those who receive it. Mistaken notions about negative effects derived from research on children's experiences in residential care have been falsely generalized to the non-residential setting. Furthermore, problems caused by understimulation in caretaking settings are frequently not distinguished from those stemming from maternal deprivation. Unfortunately, members of the social service

professions have perceived day care as a last resort measure. Using family crises as a prerequisite for referral, they in effect have perpetuated isolation of lower income and stressed families' children in day care centers. Probably the single event most destructive to the actual implementation of a nationwide child care network was President Nixon's December 1971 veto of the bill (HR 16311) proposing comprehensive social reform.

In spite of the past effectiveness of opposition forces, the concern for human resources and child welfare has gained rapid and visible backing in the last five years. As early as 1969 a Gallop poll revealed that two-thirds of Americans were in favor of federally funded day care.⁴ Grass roots efforts to establish store front centers and parent cooperatives have become widespread and well publicized. The social legislation mentioned above had unusually broad support from labor, religious, women's and public interest groups. And the bill was in fact approved by both the United States House of Representatives and the Senate.

Federal and private child development, education, mental health and public health foundations have established new priorities to support research in early childhood. They have recently shown particular interest in attempts to coordinate research information with actual program development and evaluation.

Increased coverage by the press has lifted day care from its former position of low visibility into the focus of the public eye. Books on child care, ranging from historical retrospectives to "how to" organize your own day care center from scratch, have been reviewed in papers and magazines with national circulations and are selling to the general public. Simultaneously, basic research revealing the importance of an early stimulating environment has

found its way into the popular press and is making an impact on parents' appreciation for child development and positive preschool group experiences.

With the interest level keen in America for ideas on preschool program design and delivery, the opportunity in the fall of 1972 to investigate the ongoing child care system in Denmark was particularly timely.

Other countries' experiences are rich sources of information and can provide new insights into domestic problems. To date those child care systems documented most thoroughly in English language literature have been situated in collectivist societies, the USSR⁵ and the Israeli Kibbutzim.⁶ These studies have been of great academic interest and at times sources of inspiration, though recent investigations refute some findings of effectiveness reported in earlier studies. Large scale day care operations in Eastern European lands, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, manifest the ideological and conceptual tenets intrinsic to those societies but which are profoundly different from ours. A third group of western European nations, France, Italy, Belgium, Greece and the Netherlands report preschool enrollments of 60 to 95 percent of their four to six year old populations.⁷ But in almost every case, programs are either of highly variable quality, especially with regard to the educational aspects of the environment, are not fully staffed by professionals, or are only part-day operations.

In contrast, Denmark appeared to be a highly desirable study site for a number of reasons. The country, like the United States is capitalistic, a consumer society with a high standard of living. The education system is comprehensive and literacy is almost universal. Industry, manufacturing and agriculture operate at a sophisticated

level and the full range of business and occupational opportunities exists. Children in metropolitan areas of both countries suffer the restrictions imposed by industrial urban life. Danes believe and show through their interactions a profound respect for the importance of the individual.

While cultural, political and economic values in the two countries are globally similar, there are some distinct differences. The average Dane enjoys an economic condition roughly comparable to the average American's, but there are far fewer rich or poor people in Denmark. Denmark is geographically small with a population of 5 million persons who are far less mobile than Americans. The Danes have an unflinching commitment to each individual's right to a reasonable amount of well-being and security without charity, from childhood to old age. This belief is backed up by the payment of heavy income and sales taxes to finance an impressive range of social services. Most relevant to this thesis is the network of highly professional child care programs serving children from all socio-economic levels, operated on a national scale, and which has been evolving and refining for over 75 years.

In spite of all the above, there is a virtual void of information in the English language literature on the Danish child care system. One exception is the work of Marsden Wagner whose eye-opening description (Wagner and Wagner, 1972) introduced the author to the potential in Denmark for further investigation. A proposal containing the germs for this thesis was submitted to the American-Scandinavian Foundation and a George C. Marshall Memorial Fellowship was awarded to finance the initial stages of the project.

information in English on the organization and administration of preschool care options in Denmark, devoting particular attention to the coverage of programs for 3 to 7 year olds in daytime group care. A sequel volume will explore the educational aspects of the preschool environments for 3 to 7 year olds. In combination these bodies of information should provide crucial background for further research on the continuing Danish programs.

It was also a purpose of the study to ascertain how the Danes are coping with the theoretical advances in the understanding of child development, to ascertain current research interests in child development and early childhood education, to find out how Danes are reacting to American experimental preschool programs and curricula, and to determine the cultural and philosophical bases for educational practices in the classrooms. (Volume II will provide systematic and detailed description of life inside sample centers and analysis of the teaching practices, human interactions and educational activities.)

The ultimate purpose in making available information about the Danish experience is that it be utilized in planning better programs for the children who so desperately need them.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Terms requiring clarification are included in the list below. English translations are used for almost all Danish institutions, services and procedures throughout the text. Danish titles are inserted in parentheses for the benefit of those who will find having precise labels an advantage in studying the Danish situation more closely.

In three instances, the commonly employed English "equivalents" for ideas important in this thesis are misleading, specifically the use of "kindergarten" for the Danish "børnehave" (as well as for "børnehaveklasse") and "municipality" for the Danish "kommune". To prevent misunderstanding of the Danish entities, these three Danish terms will be used in their original form throughout the thesis.

amt Term designating the Danish regional level of government, hierarchically between the local (kommune, see definition below) and federal (state) levels.

børnehave (literal translation: children + garden). The center for group care of children between the ages of 3 and 7. Trained staff and well-outfitted facilities provide developmentally appropriate experiences and activities to stimulate growth in a relaxed atmosphere. Children from all socio-economic levels attend and receive comprehensive services (described in Section III). Programs run year round, most for the full day, five to six days a week. The public subsidizes all centers whether public or privately operated.

Thus the børnehavn is not, in the American sense, a kindergarten or a nursery school or a day care center, but a synthesis of the three.

børnehaveklasse (børnehavn + klasse = kindergarten class). The non-compulsory, assimilation class for six year olds in the elementary school where the child will attend first grade at seven. Groups have a maximum of 22 children and run for three hours a day. The program, much more like that of the børnehavn than the first grade, is child development based with no attempt at formal instruction in reading, writing or arithmetic.

Child and Youth Welfare Committee (CYWC) (Danish: Børnevern).

The committee in each kommune (see below) responsible for ensuring that children and youth grow up under conditions which promote sound mental and physical health. The CYWC has the political, financial and administrative authority to act as the advocate for all children, primarily through offering guidance, services and/or money to families with troubled children so that the family can cope satisfactorily as an intact unit. (For fuller description see Section III.)

equipment The large, non-consumable furnishings in the preschool setting. Examples: chairs, tables, wood bench, musical instruments, water table, home corner furniture, scooters, bicycles, swings, climbing apparatus, etc.

fritidshjem (literal translation: free + time + home). Sometimes called after school or recreation centers, these institutions

are for children 7 to 14 years of age between 6 a.m. and 5 - 6 p.m. Children enrolled may arrive before school and return after school. Arrivals and departures are monitored but children have completely free choice of activities, extensive range of art materials, craft shops, relaxation room, study room, music room. Staff are graduates of the two year course at a training college particularly for youth and recreations workers.

Head (Danish: leder). The educational director of a daytime institution (an infant center, a børnehave, or a fritidshjem). The Head assumes responsibility for the day to day operation and administration of the center and (except for in the very large centers) continues to teach half-day in one of the children's groups.

indskoling. (literally: schooling-in). The term for the new procedures devised to make the 6-year-old's introduction to first grade and school life positive. Procedures include open houses, parent meetings, brochures and letters sent home, and børnehaveklasse. Indskoling has largely supplanted the routine administration of school readiness tests as the child's first contact with school.

institution Throughout the thesis this word is used in the Danish sense, i.e. devoid of negative connotations of impersonality, rigidity or massiveness. The Danish child care institution is in fact characterized by informality, freedom and child-centeredness, whether it is housed in an apartment for 30 children or a large structure for 200

children.

kommune A geo-political district of Denmark, designating the lowest or local level of organization. Kommune is often translated "municipality" which is somewhat misleading as all kommunes do not necessarily encompass a city or town area. The sense of the word is closer to the American township.

leder See Head.

materials The consumable supplies and small elements in the preschool setting. Examples: art and craft items, toys, games, books, etc.

seminary (Danish: seminarium). A college for training teachers, in the case of børnehave teachers it is a børnehave seminary. Graduation from the three year program is a prerequisite for a teaching position in a børnehave. See the end of Section III for a detailed description of the børnehave seminaries.

social Frequently used in the thesis to mean social welfare or social well-being, without any of the pejorative implications bound into the American usage of welfare. Examples of usage: Ministry of Social Affairs; the børnehave is a social as well as an educational institution.

state When used in the geo-political sense, state means the federal or national level of organization.

vuggestue (literal translation: cradle + room) The center for group care of the youngest children, 3 months to 3 years of age, open 5 to 6 days a week, full day, year round. In this thesis, the vuggestue will be referred to as the infant center.

III. METHODOLOGY

A contextual orientation was required before undertaking the analysis of the Danish preschool educational environments (see Child Care in Denmark: Part II. Education and Rearing Practices in the Børnehave. for the latter). The essential ground work entailed:

1) Contacts with key individuals. Liasons were established with appropriate officials in the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Education. These permitted direct access to any and all childcare programs in Denmark. Inspektør Ellen Hauberg of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Paul Lyngbye of the Ministry of Education and Jonina Christensen of the Family Day Care Organization gave many hours to discussion of the Danish social system and provided the invaluable service later on of making initial contacts with the institutions chosen for the sample used in Part II of this study.

2) Danish Language Training. The absence of original English language investigations and translations of Danish works required the development of Danish reading proficiency. To understand non-observable aspects of the social setting, such as cultural values and the scope of the Danish commitment to and legal provision for children's welfare, required a reading ability in Danish. To understand the historical evolution of the child care system required the ability to read Danish. To ascertain key research issues and debates in early childhood education required reading Danish journals and professional publications.

Preliminary visits to centers indicated that having Danish speaking proficiency would be highly beneficial. Teachers, day care mothers and family guidance workers were frequently reluctant or unable to express themselves in English, particularly when the subject matter was educational philosophies, program goals or on the plane of ideas. Furthermore, the institutional sample (for Part II of the study) would have to be

biased by screening for English speaking staff--effectively selecting only the more sophisticated and highly educated preschool teachers. Or, on the other hand, the quality of the interviews, if conducted in English, would be uneven and questionable in reliability. Obviously, it would also be highly desirable to comprehend children's speech and to perceive emotional tone conveyed through the language of teacher-child and child-child verbal interactions. Interpreters are unsatisfactory because they filter out information and nuance. It is simply impossible for an interpreter to transmit all casual and extraneous (but vital) verbal input. Using interpreters also means that interviews must be scheduled in advance, eliminating the desirable flexibility of fitting into the free moments of a busy teacher's day.

Therefore, the investigation began with four months of intensive language training. It was possible almost immediately to read Danish. After three months (with the børnehavé functioning as a most stimulating language laboratory) it was possible to understand responses, if not to ask the interview questions in Danish. Naturally more at ease conversing in Danish, teachers were quick to include the observer in børnehavé life, from unguarded coffee-break discussions to staff and parent meetings.

3) Professional courses and meetings. The author accepted invitations to attend as participant-observer a week long in-service training course given for newly appointed Heads of børnehavé by the staff of the Child and Youth Welfare division of the Ministry of Social Affairs. The author also attended a number of classes at børnehavé seminars and several graduate seminars at the Royal College of Education.

4) Institution Visitations. Prior to arrival in Denmark it was impossible to appreciate the number and quality of different child care and youth programs operating. It was felt that a general description of offerings would help to place the børnehavé in its institutional context.

Creches, playgrounds, family day care homes, børnehave, after-school centers, integrated institutions, youth clubs and pensions, hostels for retarded youth, residences for unmarried young women with children, and retired persons' centers. Those programs serving preschool children during the daytime hours were researched for Chapter VI, the Operational Overview of Programs. Data was compiled from official publications, social legislation, the statistical handbook and from interviews with officials in the ministries.

5) Other education related settings investigated. Interviews and visits were arranged in two seminaries for training preschool teachers (børnehave-seminarium), the college for advanced study in education (Danmarks Lærerhøjskole), the institute for educational research (Danmarks Pædagogiske Institut), one of the district Teacher Centers, the state education library and materials collection (Danmarks Pædagogiske Bibliotek). Invitations were accepted to participate in several conferences and short-term continuing education courses for active teachers. The primary function of these contacts was to amplify understanding of children's programs, to get feedback on the author's accuracy of perceptions and generalizations, and to pick up new leads and references for further investigation of early childhood education in Denmark.

6) Danish Education Literature. To ascertain current issues in the field and thoughts and attitudes about child rearing and the roles of preschool institutions in Danish society, professional journals were searched. A comprehensive list appears on page 85. The most useful of these were:

Børn og Unge (Children and Youth)
Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift (Danish Journal of Education)
Uddannelse (Education)
Unge Pædagoger (Young Educator)

The Danish language books pertinent to this investigation which proved most helpful are included in the bibliography.

IV. EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DANISH SOCIETY

Historical Development of Daytime Preschool Programs

Educational Programs

The Danish early childhood education movement was propelled by the ideas and activities of Fredrich Froebel. The first kindergartens which opened in the 1870's in Denmark were patterned after Froebel's own to provide settings in which each child could develop all his capacities, at his own pace, through free play. Strains of Pestalozzi were evident in the concern for an environment rich with activities and furnished with objects which the child could manipulate and explore through his senses. The Danes wholeheartedly accepted (as they still do) Rousseau's notion of childhood as a unique and special time when the natural unfolding of human potential should be allowed to take place without restraints or pressure from adults.

The early Danish educational programs were privately initiated and operated on half-day sessions. The clientele therefore tended to be children of well-off families and certainly not those of financially depressed or working parent families.

Day Care

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century private philanthropic and religious societies assumed the responsibility for creating facilities to care for children of women drawn into the expanded industrial labor force.¹ The first day care asylum (asyl) which opened in 1828 was based on German and English models.

Children were accepted into such institutions from infancy to school age. Around mid-19th century the first infant centers (vuggestue) were established. Spread of contagious infections and lack of hygienic controls caused their closing after a seven year run. Progress in medicine enabled infant centers to reopen again after 1880.

With very "humble" contributions from the state, the small asylum budgets were inadequate to provide sufficient staff, equipment and space. Enrollments swelled without regulation. These institutions became overcrowded, grim locations where care could be no better than minimally custodial.

These early efforts in child care are described by a Danish educator:

Educational practices in the asylums were mainly to keep the children from being disturbing or too active. One of the ways was to place them (the children) on a so-called "asylum steps" which might remind one a little of an amphitheater. This gave a single adult the opportunity to have a good overview of a very large group of children. Activities were limited to a very few categories: busy work like ripping cloth into strips, learning letters, psalms and songs.

The methods in the asylums stood in direct contrast to the ideas of the Froebelian kindergartens which had precisely as a goal, bringing children together for some hours each day to play and be active.

The asylums were clearly used by children from homes where the mothers had to work outside (the home) by necessity, and the Froebelian kindergartens were used by children of more affluent homes that could afford to pay to have their children occupied for several hours daily. This created a split, and in order to remedy the situation, around 1900 initiative was taken to open folkebørnehaver (people's kindergartens). The main purpose was to reduce the distinction between the more charity-type asylums and the more upper-class kindergartens, so that the child clientele as well as the educational practices would approach each other more closely.²

The consolidation of educational and social functions

In 1889 the Danish Froebel Association was founded. Its intention was to open folkebørnehaver (people's kindergartens), socio-educational preschool institutions operated in the Froebelian spirit. Two years later the Folkebørneshave Association was established and actually initiated the movement of full-day centers providing child development based care. Efforts were simultaneously made to influence practices in the old day care asylums by the new educational methods and style of the børneshave.

The first step taken to improve the quality of care was to establish enrollment limits for børneshave. A second was to equip and organize child-oriented settings so that children could use their initiative and imagination in occupying themselves. The Froebelian idea of on-the-job or apprenticeship teacher training was instituted in these early folkebørneshave. Because of the many practical limitations of the asylums, workers had never been able to establish institution-home contact. It was a goal of the folkebørneshave to have monthly staff-parent meetings during which times personal, friendly relationships could develop.

Even with the active initiative of private citizens and organizations, there were not enough børneshave to meet the growing demands for daytime child care outside of the home. Thus, many families were obliged to seek informal arrangements.

Legal protection for children

In response to the realities of the circumstances and in recognition of society's responsibility to protect the welfare of its children, the government in 1888 passed a law establishing that

no person could receive a child under 14 years of age into care for payment without prior permission from the local authorities. The child care license granted could be withdrawn from homes as well as from institutions. (This regulation has been upheld in almost the same form throughout the Welfare Laws of 1905, 1933, 1961 and the currently applicable Law of 1964, paragraphs 64 and 78.)

The Law of 1888 is particularly significant because it laid the foundation for later developments. First, it established the public commitment to safeguard the well-being of all children. Second, it established a central governmental administration to make policy and unify child care services. Third, it established a locally based authority to execute policy and maintain standards. Fourth, it endowed the organs which it established with power to carry out their functions. Fifth, while the government assumed responsibility for coordination and regulation, initiative was left to private interests for the design and operation of the individual institutions according to local need and style.

The importance of the folkebørnehave movement from 1901 onward cannot be overemphasized. It consolidated the separate movements with child serving functions into one system. The American arrangement which resembles the pre-1900 situation in Denmark continues to demonstrate the defects of a dual system which not only perpetuates but accentuates inequality from early childhood onward.

A further stride in the advancement of joint social and educational concerns for children came in 1915 when a general practitioner, Kjer-Petersen observed the severe cultural deprivation suffered by children in one of Copenhagen's poor neighborhoods. His

response was to initiate a compensatory program i.e. to open in every parish of the city a folkebørnehave connected with the local church. Children from cramped city quarters quickly filled these new centers. An organization to coordinate their programs formed. Its goal was to make the child care institution more homelike in appearance and cheerful in atmosphere. This was achieved by reducing the size of the buildings and child groups and by increasing contact between home and center. The tremendous effort paid off in a new image for the daytime child care center. Today in the poor Vesterbro section of Copenhagen alone over 155 daytime institutions are members of this organization, the Cooperating Church Børnehave.³

Government complements private efforts

Operating educationally sound child care centers became increasingly expensive. In 1918 the government recognized that larger financial subsidies were absolutely essential if programs were to meet the government's own minimum standards. Legislation was approved enabling daytime institutions (including infant centers, børnehave and asylums) to receive government support for up to 30 percent of their costs. In 1936 a federal commission issued its first report on "Børnehave Issues". It raised questions about staffing ratios, emphasized the need for increase in the number of institutions and discussed the role in society which børnehave was to play. At that time, difficulties in civilian building hindered immediate action.

During World War II the need for day care increased sharply. Up to this point institutions were all privately owned with the government contributing to child care in the form of coordination,

quality control and some subsidy. Now the private sector found that the demand for new institutions was more than it could handle. The Danish government responded by opening the first municipally run centers (kommunale børnehaver) along with the other "crisis børnehaver" set up by churches and charities during the war years.

Steadily rising prices forced private institutions either to seek still greater amounts of public subsidy or to close. Interim measures of 1945 granted to recognized (anerkendt) private institutions up to 70 percent public support, i.e. 40 percent state support on the condition that the kommune (municipality) in which the institution was located would provide a further 30 percent.

The Børnehave as a Public Socio-educational Institution

Post World War II changes in society created new social conditions which affected families in all classes. Daytime care for children was no longer needed by only poor or single parents. Students with extended years of training, families patterned on new role concepts and women who were interested in continuing their careers also required børnehave places for their children. Furthermore, widespread popular publication of the benefits of pre-school educational experiences for children placed an unprecedented demand for places by families who had neither social need nor a working mother.

The attractive børnehave programs nevertheless had a restricted clientele--families who could prove the need for full-day care. Between 1945 and 1954 the government required that a minimum of two-thirds of the children admitted had to be "socially needy" in order for the institution to receive its 70 percent public subsidy. While giving the neediest priority in times of huge

demand and short supply had humanitarian basis, the stipulation in effect barred the majority of the children in Denmark, those with part-time or non-working mothers, from the possibility of attending a pre-school program.

The børnehave's educational task was repeatedly considered in the Government Reports of 1936, 1945, 1949, 1950 and 1954. In 1959 the instrumental "Christianborg meeting" called by the Danish National Women's Council set forth a number of proposals which stimulated the formation of a special governmental planning committee. The careful work of this group culminated in the 1963 report by the Education Board of the Child and Youth Welfare Administration, entitled Børnehave Problems.⁴ It advocated: a longer, more thorough professional training for børnehave staff; a planned increase in building of half-day børnehave to meet growing demands for that service in tandem with operation of half-day børnehave; legal recognition that educational needs also be valid grounds for admission; closer connections between child serving institutions, particularly between the børnehave and the elementary school. The long range goal announced in this official report was that, "all parents who wish it should have the opportunity to send their children to a børnehave without expense to themselves".⁵ The Education Board of the Ministry of Social Affairs responsible for this announcement was of the opinion that "a society which feels responsible to provide schools and career training free of charge for the benefit of the population over the age of seven years, should also feel the same obligation for basic educational unbringing of the child in the pre-school years."⁶

By a revision incorporated into the Child Law of 1964, the importance of early childhood education was given legal stature.

Paragraph 68 of this Law states that "educational" as well as "social" needs are valid grounds for admission to the børnehave. This was not only a moral victory. It annulled the 1945 restriction of børnehave admission to "exclusively or primarily" children of needy parents. That clause had prevented mixing of lower and middle classes. Non-needy families were without the full or part time services they sought. And it had obstructed the establishment of half-day institutions because their user population would disqualify them from obtaining the crucial public subsidy.

In practice the børnehave is a successful synthesis of two child care traditions. The debate over the concept of the børnehave as either an educational or social service disappeared with the acknowledgement that only developmentally based care is socially justifiable. The brand of charity has vanished completely. Public funding has made real the Danish commitment to provide educational environments for all children attending the børnehave, whether their presence in a center happens to be on social or purely educational grounds.

Preschool Education as Part of the Public School System

The establishment of børnehaveklasse (in-school kindergarten classes) was an act of the Ministry of Education and represents a development entirely separate administratively from the børnehave under the Ministry of Social Affairs. This non-compulsory class, as an element in the public education system, has become prevalent nationally only since the end of the 1960's.

The first børnehaveklasse was initiated in the city of Esbjerg in 1912; they have been operated there continuously ever since. But it was not until 1962 that an amendment to the Public School Law of 1958 granted economic means for "establishing special

classes for children under compulsory education age in the main school." In 1965 The Ministry of Education sponsored one hundred pilot børnehaveklasse in various kommune (municipalities) across Denmark. The response was immediate and positive, especially from the parents. Shortly thereafter, in 1966 the Ministry authorized all school districts to open børnehaveklasse according to community demand and school space available. In all schools, the børnehaveklasse are non-obligatory, half-day sessions for six year olds.

Some educators feel that a serious mistake was made in not following through with the evaluation planned for the 1965 pilot programs. Instead, the overwhelming spontaneous response influenced the Ministry to give the green light to the kommunes. These educators question whether the operation of børnehaveklasse is the best approach to improving early childhood education for most children. First of all having børnehaveklasse has taken the steam out of the forces working to have more børnehave opened with half-day places. The latter arrangement would integrate children with full-time working mothers rather than separate them from the others. Secondly, educators question the effectiveness of a program lasting three-hours-a-day for ten months of one year involving only children of the same age. They suggest that up-grading the intellectual stimulation in the børnehave, not only for the six year olds but all of the children, would have been a far better long range approach. Removing the older children from the rest of the børnehave not only removes stimulation from the younger children, but creates an isolated new group. This narrow grouping is inconsistent with the current movement toward age integration in Denmark. The

demand for børnehaveklasse teachers draws directly on the supply for børnehavet at a time when the need in the børnehavet is still acute.

But the credibility bestowed by association with the already established school system and the attractiveness of being free to parents has won the parents' acceptance of børnehaveklasse immediately.

From the school's side the adjustment to børnehaveklasse has taken somewhat longer. School teachers are trained to teach children from the first to tenth grades in different colleges and are trained to use different educational methods. They enjoy higher academic and social status than preschool teachers. For many school teachers, accommodating to the reality of the preschool teacher as a colleague and to the børnehaveklasse as a legitimate element in the education system has been a little like getting used to a new baby sibling in the family.

While official purposes of the børnehaveklasse are being gradually and carefully formulated, there is unqualified commitment to the børnehaveklasse function as a transition mechanism to ease the child's movement from the institution of the home or børnehavet on to the school. There is consensus that the børnehaveklasse shall not cause a "de facto" lowering of the age of formal instruction.

As compulsory schooling in Denmark becomes more child-centered (rather than subject-centered) and the preschool classes assimilate into the education system proper, the serious gap between preschool and school programs narrows to the very definite benefit of the child.

Responsibility for the Danish Child: Compact Between Society and the Family

In Denmark, the family has first and primary responsibility for the rearing and well-being of its children. For most families society serves a complementary function in promoting and providing child-appropriate environments and supplementary care services outside the home.

Society's Part: Distribution of Responsibility

Central Authorities. The currently applicable "Children and Young Persons Act of 1964" establishes a Child and Youth Welfare Administration (Børne- og Ungdomsforsorgen) under the Ministry of Social Affairs for the purpose of ensuring "that children and young persons grow up under conditions promoting a sound mental and physical development." (1.1)⁷ The Child and Youth Welfare Administration's (CYWA) central authorities set child care policy, suggest legal reforms, collaborate with other Ministries especially the Ministry of Education on relevant matters, establish minimum standards and administer the CYWA budget. Until recently a central Directorate (Socialstyrelsen) of child care consultants has been responsible for: seeing that minimum physical standards were met, reviewing blueprints for new institutions (whose need had already been justified at the local level), setting national standards for staff-child ratios, advising and routinely inspecting day care institutions and foster homes twice yearly, periodically conducting 5 day courses for new directors of child care institutions.

The burst of new institutions has swollen the Directorate's work so greatly that it is no longer appropriate or efficient for

a central administration to execute these services. More effective handling is to take place at the local level. A tremendous organizational reform of the social welfare administration is underway, due to take full effect in 1975. This new Assistance Law (Bistands Lov) is basically a decentralization scheme. According to Flemming Ahlberg, Social Affairs Director of Copenhagen and one of the reform law's master minds, the new organization will increase administrative efficiency, consequently increase quality of service both to institutions and families and cut down huge bureaucratic costs by gathering all social services affairs in one local center located in each kommune. Care will be client-oriented, consolidated across services (health, guidance, unemployment, etc.) and across ages (so-called "birth to death"). The local groups will deal directly with most cases. Regional centers will employ specialists who will go out to the kommune to handle special cases (institutions for the handicapped, retarded, etc.). At the time of this writing, an actual copy of the new law is not available. The decentralization continues the trend already established with the welfare law of 1922 of placing the authority to execute social services in independent, decision making bodies close to the source of the needs.

Local Authorities. The kommune (municipality) is obliged to provide and run the necessary institutions if the "duties are not otherwise discharged" (2.2). This means that in cases of need unmet by private effort, the burden of initiative falls to the Local Child and Youth Welfare Committee (Børne- og Ungdomsværnet). According to the 1964 law, it is the CYWC's responsibility to:

"attend to the care of children and young persons in their area by supervising the conditions under which children and young persons live, supporting parents in the upbringing and care of their children, granting assistance to children and young persons who are in need of support and insuring the existance of necessary day care institutions and socio-educational recreational facilities." (2.1)

In performing the duties outlined above, the committee works with city planners, housing administration, school commission, traffic bureau, health commission, private organizations, in essence any and all entitites which can promote conditions favorable to children.

This is no small task. The committee operates according to the principle that parents should be able to choose from alternative forms of supplementary care, the one most amenable to their particular family pattern and philosophy.

The CYWC is also the quality control and coordinating mechanism for services whether they are publicly or privately operated. The individual institutions still have complete autonomy in fashioning their own educational programs (2.3). With the organizational changes taking place under decentralization, it appears that this committee's functions will be closely associated with the new local authority, the Social and Health Services Administration.

When the family fails to assume its responsibility

In cases where parents have not met minimum caretaking responsibilities (spelled out in the law, paragraphs 27. and 28.), the local CYWC as advocate for the child has responsibility to offer the family resources which will rectify the unsatisfactory conditions and allow the child to remain in the natural family's

care. They include:

- i. directions or orders for child care, upbringing, education, training or employment...,e.g. that a child shall attend a day-care institution.
- ii. the appointment of a supervising guardian.
- iii. the treatment by a physician or examination and guidance by a psychologist.
- iv. grant towards expenses directly involved by the directions given.
- v. grants towards the expenses of domestic help in the event of parents' illness or temporary difficulties in order to obviate the need of removing the child from the home. (27.2.i-v)

The CYWC's first efforts are offers of assistance to the family. Since help is in the form of real service or money to provide for it, the family usually cooperates voluntarily. The CYWC may enlist the aid of appropriate specialists if necessary to persuade or warn parents. As a last resort the CYWC may remove the child from his home in order to protect his well-being.

(v. cont.)arrangements may be made for the child or young person to be accomodated and maintained apart from his parents in a foster home, boarding school, or in other private care, ... or in a treatment institution. (27.2.v)

A national Council composed of judges, child care experts and members of parliament acts us a court of appeal for parents who are not satisfied with decisions made by the CYWC regarding child care arrangements for their children.

A majority of the people who serve on the CYWC is chosen from members of the local City Council, including the Chairman of the Social Welfare Committee. The rest are elected by the City Council from citizen volunteers, so that both men and women are represented.⁸ The committee serves a four year term as an independent board, not as a standing committee of the political City Council (8.1-4). The members common to both the City Council and the CYWC serve as an effective lobby for children's interests in all local government decisions.

In summary, this CYWC has the power (legal and fiscal) to make decisions and take action on behalf of the child. Its very existence is based on the premise that all children are the responsibility of all adults in society. Every Dane has the law-given duty to protect all children by reporting maltreatment to the CYWC (22.1). The CYWC then has the responsibility to carry through with protective and preventative measures as elaborated above. The somewhat sinister reputation acquired by the CYWC in the past for its preoccupation with "protective" actions is changing for the better as public opinion responds to the expansion of CYWC efforts in the "preventative" domain.

Joint responsibility

The positive acceptance by parents and society of their symbiotic relationship in rearing children is evidenced in a number of ways. To maintain functioning as a family, parents have adapted the form of the family to the realities of present day life. They use socio-educational institutions for part-time rearing of their children for longer spans of years. Parents without socially compelling causes also use socio-educational

services because they realize the benefits of outside experiences for their children.

On the other side, society's schools and pre-school programs in becoming more conscious of dual socio-educational roles are becoming less institution centered and more child centered. This has manifested itself in structural reorganization, curriculum and teaching style changes.⁹ In focusing on the child, institutions have appropriately given the child's background, the family, more weight. The effect has been greater parent involvement, both informally and through official representation on directive boards.

With the new child orientation, institutions serving a narrow age group have begun to recognize the importance of improving their relationships with the other institutions which serve the previous and subsequent phases of the child's life. There is a new sense of responsibility to coordinate programs so that the child does not experience abrupt discontinuity at each difficult time of transition from one milieu to the next. A new term has in fact been coined for the procedures instituted to ease the adjustment from home or børnehave to school; collectively they are called "indskoling".

That society takes seriously the responsibility it has given to the børnehave teacher for children's early development is evidenced in the governmental decision and public subsidy for a third year of education as part of the basic teacher training course.

V. IDEOLOGY AND OBJECTIVES OF THE DANISH PRESCHOOL MOVEMENT

From early philosophies to Maturationist Theory

In the formulation of the objectives and practices of the early børnehav, the ideas of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel were received enthusiastically and incorporated immediately. Already in the late nineteenth century Danish parents and børnehav founders were reacting against the old trainer mentality which had characterized preschools up to that time. In Froebel's writings particularly, they found the theoretical bases and practical guidelings for a new approach. Montessori's regard for the individual and her excellent learning materials were approved of in Denmark during her lifetime. Later her ideas lost favor, perhaps in reaction to the disciplined nature of the formal training approach. (In the last ten years, some of her sense training materials have appeared in special børnehav, followed by more frequent appearances on the shelves of the regular børnehav.) Montessori's ideas about the importance for the young child of learning and coping with reality have been introduced into theory classes at the Danish preschool teacher seminaries.

The second most profound impact, felt strongly still today, came from the ideas of Arnold Gesell (1948). The president of one seminary wrote recently in a special journal issue on early childhood:

"The foundation for the educational theory and methods which have been used and still are used in the børnehav is the developmental theory approach, especially Gesell's with the emphasis placed on the child's level of maturity... The teacher has first and foremost been geared to waiting for the child's spontaneous development and has considered herself a passive observer... This point of view, which has

been the basis of educational practices prevailing in many børnehave gives respect to the child and his stage of development. On the other hand, it can lead to the child's being under stimulated."¹⁰

Others have noted that the dominance of maturationist theory for so many years has hindered the progress of understanding of how children learn.¹¹

Erikson, Maslow, Bruner and Piaget

The ideas of Erikson, Maslow, Bruner and Piaget are discussed today in the seminars for preschool teachers. Danes find Erikson's psychoanalytic theory compatible with their view of the child in the context of a society which influences his development. In their classrooms with children, teachers work actively to establish an emotional climate and procedures which will foster the development of Eriksonian Trust and Autonomy. Even though teachers are not aggressive in encouraging children to initiative and industry in task-oriented activity, they scrupulously avoid having the child feel guilt or inferiority.

The educational ideology of the børnehave also embraces Abraham Maslow's notion of the in-born nature of the human as good, of personality development from the holistic viewpoint and of natural maturation in the direction of self-actualization.

Danes were precocious in recognizing that the early years of life are crucial to later development. They were early in establishing nation-wide børnehave programs based on the most sophisticated understandings of child development at the time. But in recent years they have lagged somewhat in revising programs, particularly with regard to research findings which have

challenged the long entrenched assumption that there is a predetermined unfolding of cognitive abilities.¹² Theories of learning and research on cognitive processes and motivation have hardly affected preschool teachers' classroom practices. But at the research level and in the university, developmental and educational psychologists have incorporated formulations from the world literature and produced eclectic Danish syntheses. In their texts, courses and literature reviews, they recognize Piaget (1970 a, 1970 b) as the greatest influence on their thinking since Gesell. It was not until the 1960's that Piaget's writings began to appear in Danish translation. Now such Piagetian concepts as perpetual assimilation and accomodation effecting gradual sophistication of mental constructs, and cognitive development according to a fixed series of stages are at least familiar in a superficial way to recent seminary graduates. Danes find particularly meaningful Piaget's description of the interaction between biological and psychological conditions in relation to the development of intellectual processes. Hebb (1949) is acknowledged for his formulation of intellectual processes as the directors and organizers of all kinds of behavior. Their focus on Bruner (1972 a, 1972 b) is for his elaboraton of the processes of knowing, discovery and curiosity.

Considering the Danish theoretical and philosophical orientation to pre-school education, it is somewhat surprizing that Dewey figures in such a minor way in the literature and in teacher education, and that names like the English Susan Isaacs, and the American Barbara Biber are unknown. With the exception of

Gesell's writings, works by the other authors mentioned have been translated only since 1965. Less theoretical English language titles now available in Danish are widely read. These include seven of A. S. Neill's books (made available between 1967 and 1971), Maya Pines (1970), John Holt (1969), Urie Bronfenbrenner (1972), Selma Fraiberg (1966), Haim Ginott (1968), texts by Paul Mussen (1971) and Katherine Read (1967) have been used for some time, and Henry Maier's Three Theories of Child Development was just translated in 1973.

The Danish reaction to the American cognitive emphasis

While the Danes have followed American developments in the field, they are conservative when it comes to reshaping actual programs for children. Hans Vejleskov, a developmental psychologist and division chairman at the Danish Royal College of Education, has been active in contributing and reviewing publications in early childhood education. In his introduction to the Danish translation of Revolution in Learning, (M. Pines), he wrote, "There is no struggle in Denmark between sharply defined groups (the traditional developmentalists and the present day cognitivists). The asset of the cautious approach prevents a one-sided cultivation of the child's abilities..."¹³

The following excerpts from a paper presented to the Scandinavian Seminar on Research in Preschool Education in 1971, reveal the general Danish feeling about behavioristic training programs such as Bereiter and Englemann's (1966):

"... it is very hard to understand the total neglect of the social aspects of development in these culturally disadvantaged children, who have to encounter teachers and

schoolmates in a rather complex situation... Is it possible for child psychology to throw light on the situation of such (culturally deprived) children so that the relevance of the statement that they have to learn faster by means of special experiences can be (justified)?... As regards concept formation and communication, this programme considers only language, and, furthermore, it only considers the aspect of information and logical reasoning. Is it possible for child psychology to describe the process of language acquisition in a way that admits of training so different from the "natural" learning of vocabulary and syntax? Is it right to overlook the aspects of expression and communication as well as those of other means for symbolization and expression?¹⁴

Vejleskov goes on to question the lack of relationship between the training periods and the rest of daily life and the total neglect of concrete experience.

The aspect of intellectual functioning most universally accepted by børnehav teachers as warranting active teacher intervention for stimulation is probably language development, but Danish teachers are convinced that the means should not be formal training. They endorse the most informal and natural methods, with the language experiences integrated into the total educational program. Preschool teachers in Denmark also believe in the importance of concrete experiences as described by Montessori, Piaget and Hunt, for all kinds of learning. They are dubious of the validity of learning which is primarily adult directed and in which the essential content is adult designated. One senior faculty member at the largest børnehav seminary wrote, "We try to set up an environment so that children have peace to shape and develop themselves, and above all we try to avoid as much as possible rushing or pressing the children".¹⁵

The Danish education ideology today attempts to establish a compromise between socialization and intellectualization as well as between traditional børnehave education which stresses maturation and the more recent preschool trend which stresses learning. But the escalation in concern for sufficient intellectual stimulation of children does not imply a willingness to institute training programs which focus on single aspects of development to the neglect of others. One of the reasons Danes have defended the maturationist point of view so long has been out of fear for the damages of too early training.¹⁶

Official Objective of the Børnehave

Program objectives for the børnehave are intentionally not spelled out in detail in the law. Programs are required to meet minimum standards but there is no attempt to make educational practices or operational objectives uniform. Public statements concerning goals are likewise diffuse. An example which appeared recently in a Ministry of Social Affairs bulletin reads, "The main task of the børnehave is to create an educational milieu where children and adults can thrive and where children have optimal opportunities for development."¹⁷

Arne Sjølund polled forty experienced børnehave teachers to obtain from them what they considered their most important tasks in their work with children.¹⁸ Teachers could give as many responses as they desired, ranking them in order of importance. These responses were consolidated into twelve categories. The same teachers were then asked to select from the list of categories the main objectives of their own program. In ascending order of

importance these were:

1. Social adjustment and development
2. Development of self, independence
3. Language development
4. Ability to play
5. Motoric, physical and rhythmic sense
6. Development of fantasy
7. Expression of creative and constructive senses
8. Intellectual development
9. Free and open demeanor
10. Coordination between børnehave and home child rearing
11. Child's orientation in the environment
12. Good habits

Official Goals of the Børnehaveklasse

Although the aim of the børnehaveklasse too is loosely formulated, it does incorporate two main objectives. The first is to provide a stimulating environment in the spirit of the børnehave where six year olds can develop their personalities without the restriction of a curriculum of required learning. Specific formal instruction which corresponds in whole or part to instruction in first grade is not permitted. The second objective is to familiarize the child with the school milieu he will attend as a first grader and to familiarize the school with the individual child. The intention is to ease the adaptation process from home or highly unstructured børnehave to the school which is undergoing some change but is still for the most part quite traditional.

VI. AN OPERATIONAL OVERVIEW OF DANISH PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS AND POPULATIONS

Types of Programs

Parents may select from a number of different daytime preschool offerings. Available programs will be considered in order of the age of the children served, reviewing first and most briefly those for the youngest children and working up to those for six year olds. The intent of these resumés is to provide data on administration, economics and logistics of the programs, since these issues ultimately have bearing on the educational quality.

INFANT CENTERS (Vuggestue)

Vuggestue literally means cradle room and is the equivalent to what is sometimes termed the creche. This institution provides daytime care for 30 infants between zero and three years of age.

In reality, few children under three months attend because employed mothers in Denmark all may have paid maternity leave covering at least three months after birth. Infant Centers are open 11 to 12 hours a day, between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., Monday through Friday, with option of half-day care if parents' work requires it. Many children, especially the youngest, attend for only part of the day.

The infant center may be a separate premises or a wing of a larger daytime institution serving other age groups. Funding regulations stipulate a maximum floor area of 10 m² per child, of which 3 m² per child must be free area in the group room. If the infant center is not on the ground floor of the building with a terrace for outdoor sleeping, there is a special partially enclosed balcony for fresh air napping.

Groups have traditionally been organized according to age. That is, a maximum of 8 infants (spædbørnsstue), a maximum of 10 crawlers (kravlestue) and a maximum of 12 toddlers (småbørnsstue). The overwhelming tendency today is to maximize developmental stimulation by age-integrating children into family groups of ten children each in 30 m² group rooms. (This trend has been carried upward through the ages culminating in the new Integrated Institutions discussed at the end of this chapter.)

The infant center staff consists of a Head (leder) and professional infant caretakers (børneforsorgspædagog or barneplejerske), plus aides and student teachers on practice placement. The training of infant care professionals is under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs and takes place in a special seminary (børneforsorgsseminarium). During the three years of training, the student has practice teaching placements which amount to about one-third the study time. The other two-thirds is devoted to courses in theories of education and psychology, infant care, child welfare laws, stimulation activities for children, in addition to a number of minor subjects.¹⁹

Standards set by the state prescribe group size and staff-child ratios according to age of the children and activity period of the day. For newborns (0-10 months) the staff-child ratio is 1:3 on the average, with a 1:2 ratio during feeding times. Crawlers (10-18 months) have a staff-child ratio of 1:5 with eating and play periods covered by 1:2½. For toddlers (18-36 months) the staff-child ratio is 1:8 with 1:4 during eating and playtimes.

When the groups are age integrated, the ratios are averaged and group size is kept to ten. The state has a general formula by

which it determines how many teachers are appropriate per institution. It takes into consideration the number of children enrolled in the center, the number of hours per week the center is open, the officially established group size, allowances for opening, closing and administrative activities. Further adjustments are made for special factors, such as handicapped children or problematic premises.²⁰ In general, caretakers are each responsible for giving individual attention to specific children. In the last five years there has been heightened awareness of children's needs to have consistency in caretaking persons and practices, and a concerted effort to provide, environmental and sense stimulation.

Eating and sleeping schedules are based on the child's own rhythm and preferences of the parents. Informal daily contact with the parents is complemented with formal representation of parents on the center board. (See p. 52 for parent involvement and participation).

The infant center provides for the child milk, food, vitamins and diapers while in the center. Medical check-ups are given every three months the first year of life, and twice a year thereafter. Copies of medical reports are filed in the center, sent to the child's family and the family doctor.

Costs vary from institution to institution but the average fee to parents, which amounts to 35 percent of the total cost of care, is \$46 per child per month. Parents may apply for 2/5 th's, 3/5 th's or full free place according to their income and the number of children in the family under 18 years of age. Financial awards are a routine matter based on standard scales.

Fees are paid directly to the local kommune which in turn pays the

infant center.

Institutions may be owned and operated by the kommune or run as independent non-profit institutions. All must be licenced under state regulations and all receive the standard government subsidy of 35 percent from the state and 30 percent from the local kommune.

Infant centers have been in operation since 1880, but it is in the last twenty years that demand has mushroomed. Almost all centers have waiting lists. A child can be registered as soon as the mother has a doctor attest to her pregnancy. Admission is generally determined according to length of time on waiting list and any extenuating circumstances.

In reaction to the great demand and short supply of infant center places, an alternative system was designed. This is the locally administrated family day care.

FAMILY DAY CARE (Dagpleje).

To undertake the care of children for pay in private homes has required public approval since 1888 in Denmark. But it was in 1966 that the unmet need for infant day care triggered the large scale organization of locally administered Family Day Care Offices. According to Emmy Anderson, director of the greater Copenhagen Family Day Care Office, the first reactions from professionals were negative. There was reluctance to condone child care by untrained caretakers via publicly organizing and subsidizing family day care.

Today after seven years of operation and refinement, the response is highly positive. A real alternative to group care exists which is characterized by intimacy and flexibility that many families and single parents find tremendously supportive.

Home bound mothers may provide playmates for their children, continue or develop a child oriented career and earn a regular salary by working as a day care mother. Not least in importance is the effective assurance that minimum standards will be met by all private caretakers of children! Family day care has grown since 1961 when 688 children were in approved homes to 20,000 in 1973.

Most Danish cities and towns and an increasing number of rural districts have established local Family Day Care Offices. They are staffed by experienced child care professionals who accept (and recruit) applications from prospective day care mothers, clear the applicants' medical and police records and inspect dwellings for health and social conditions. A home must have at least two rooms plus kitchen and toilet facilities. The applicant must be over 20 and under 55 years of age. If the candidate is approved after a personal interview, she signs a contract stating how many children she may receive into care. (Her preferences for age and sex are honored whenever possible.)

The Family Day Care Office places children from a central waiting list. The family day care supervisor attempts to match the user and the day care home so that the combination will be harmonious. She accompanies the new day care child and his mother for their presentation to the caretaking family. Commonly one or two children are placed in each home, though a maximum is set at seven children including the day care mother's own. (Usually those day care mothers given three or four children are former pre-school teachers.) To ensure the continuity of each child's care, the day care mother is expected to remain active for at least two years. When the child reaches three years of age, he is found a place by the family day care supervisor in a børnehave where he can be part

of an educational program and a peer group. Five-sevenths of all family day care children are under three years of age. Children who are handicapped, considered "high risk" or who require special diets or treatments may remain in family care until they reach the school age of seven.

The day care mother must be available to receive her day care children between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. for 45 hours per week, Monday through Friday. The user family is expected to determine a relatively regular schedule for delivering and picking up its children. Unless there are extenuating circumstances, any care beyond the official hours is subject to private agreement and private payment. The children in care are to receive two meals and a walk outdoors daily. Under no circumstances may the day care mother leave a child alone for any period of time. For safety reasons serious consideration has been given to making a telephone in the home mandatory.

The kommune Family Day Care Office divides the geographic area into districts. One supervisor is responsible for the day care families in her particular district. She monitors each home through unannounced bi-monthly visits. A running record is maintained of each visit and notable problems. The supervisor also provides the day care mother with informal guidance and age-appropriate equipment and materials for the children in her care. These may include: diapers, soap, salve, vitamins, bottles, toys, crib, tricycle, carriage. If any problems between the day care home and the user family cannot be settled between them, the staff member responsible for the placement acts as liason.

The kommune establishes fees to parents in the same way it

does for infant centers. It grants awards to needy families, collects payments and distributes day care mothers' salaries. The average fee to parents in 1973 - 1974 is \$30 per month. The day care mother's salary is about \$154 dollars per child per month. One-third of the salary is tax deductible for household depreciation, day care children's food and supplies. Along with her salary the day care mother receives fringe benefits including sick leave and paid vacation. In case of sickness she makes an early morning telephone call to notify her supervisor who in turn refers the day care child to a substitute home for the day. The local office occasionally conducts in-service training sessions, study groups and experience-exchange meetings for the day care mothers. A union has been formed with a membership of over 1100 day care mothers to negotiate for better contract terms, including salary and supplementary training.²¹

PLAYGROUPS for Preschoolers (Legesteder)

Legesteder, literally meaning "play places", refers to any one of a number of kinds of informal supervised play for preschoolers. Care is usually for a relatively few hours per week and primarily recreational. There are fewer regulations and controls than for the complex, comprehensive socio-educational programs in the infant centers and børnehav. Since 1958 kommune have been able to receive matching state funds for any socio-educational play area they establish provided that minimum state standards are met.²² In 1968 there were 23 licensed play places with trained staff for preschoolers. In 1971 there were 80 play places in Copenhagen alone offering year-round supervised play for 1682 preschool children.²³

One of the forms the legesteder can take is the outdoor Playground (legepladsen). Danes long ago realized that children need more natural and actively involving play areas than the mechanical and limited entertainments of the swing, slide and see-saw on an asphalt flat. They also recognized the allure of the abandoned building and the construction site. In 1931 plans were drafted for a huge Construction Playground which came into being in 1940 at Emdrup Banke near Copenhagen. Today there are many of these Construction or Adventure Playgrounds (Byggelegepladser) where children may come to build with old crates, planks, bricks, parts of cars, and tools of the construction trades. Very often animals are kept as playground pets. It is not uncommon to see a goat or a pony grazing on the hill side next to the little city of children's constructions. An activity house on the premises stores the equipment used by the children in building. A trained recreation worker is employed by the kommune to supervise and give requested guidance. Construction is generally restricted to children between five and fourteen years of age in the afternoons and evenings from early spring to late fall. Younger children are sometimes provided with morning supervised play at these same premises.

Playgrounds specifically designed for small children (småbørnslegepladser) are becoming more and more common. They have large sand pits, grassy and paved areas, felled trees to climb upon, splash pools and huts dug into hillsides. They are stimulating but still safe places to play. Many have a house with materials and equipment for rainy day play. A playground attendant employed certain hours each day, year round is on hand to supervise the children.

occasional supervised play period on one of these small Children's Playgrounds, the service is referred to as Child Parking (børneparkering). When the children are organized into play groups which meet regularly at the public playground during specific hours of the week under the supervision of an early childhood education professional, the program is referred to as a Playroom (Legestue). These Playrooms may also take another form. They may be initiated by parents having no particular social need for child care but interested in providing a few hours a week of regular companionship for their preschool children. The parents form an organization, elect a board and hire a teacher. Most groups rent an adaptable setting, since (for their purposes) it is too costly in time and money to get even a prefab built. The hours of meeting, number and training of the staff, the equipment and materials, fees to parents and quality of the educational programs vary widely from Playroom to Playroom. If the enrollment is less than seven children, the playgroup comes under the family day care ordinances, minimum standards and subsidy. If enrollment is up to 20 children the group comes under special clauses of the ordinances for socio-educational institutions (like the børnehavn) and can receive the state and kommune subsidy provided that standards are met.²⁴ These minimum requirements include a meeting time of a minimum of four hours daily and a program of "defensible and appropriate educational activities".

Other variants of the Playroom are the so-called Forest Kindergarten (skovbørnehavn) and the Fresh Air Kindergarten (friluftsbørnehavn). These are small playgroups which assemble regularly at a designated time and place from which they travel to a forest or rural area near the community. As they have no

building of their own, hours are relatively short and very bad weather may disrupt operation. There are relatively few of these wandering troupes, but those that exist are very popular among their clientele and meet year round.

BØRNEHAVE (The Danish term will be used throughout for this institution serving children between three and seven years of age; see definition of terms.)

General Organization and Administration

Location. Børnehavene exist in all kommune of Denmark, with greater density in urban than in rural areas. They have been placed near industries and business centers, near schools, near public transportation in outer-city open areas, in large community centers and near housing as small neighborhood centers.

Parents, teachers and city planners have found placement of the børnehavene close to or in the housing area it serves to be the most satisfactory location. Few industrial børnehavene are built today. Experience in Denmark confirms findings in the United States that the proximity of the working parent to the child's børnehavene does not result in break or lunch time visits. The removed location of the industry børnehavene means long daily transportation, discontinuity between the child's børnehavene peers and his home peer group. The parent not employed by the industry rarely has contact with the child's distant daytime environment. From industry's point of view, the børnehavene has proven more a burden than a benefit. When parents cannot get places for their children in the company institution, they are unusually intolerant about the waiting period. Industries, in general, have become less willing to

make even minor financial contributions to operating costs. The conservative and thrift minded company officers on børnehav boards of directors become the forces of opposition rather than the representatives of company good-will.

Premises²⁶ The børnehav building is whenever possible situated at the northern end of the property with the playground to the sunny south.

1. Size. The most common and preferred size for a børnehav is one that accommodates 50 to 60 children in three groups, calling for 7 to 12 on the teaching staff.

Regulations dictate that there be 6 m^2 of floor area per child in the børnehav. A minimum of 2 m^2 per child must be open floor space in the main group rooms. There must be an attached or adjacent outdoor play area which is double the size of the indoor area, with at least 10 m^2 per child.

2. Layout. New børnehav are built on one storey plans. It is common today for architects to work with the prospective educational Head in designing the new børnehav. The building goal is maximum flexibility, so that changing community needs and changing group interests can be accommodated with a minimum of inconvenience caused by the architecture. There is no officially prescribed layout, but Appendix A illustrates one example of an approved børnehav blueprint.

Inner-city centers may be carved out of a floor of an apartment house, set in a remodeled town house, or temporarily placed in lots emptied through slum clearance. In the latter locations, prefabricated modules are often erected. The modules are based on a group size of 20 children and may be erected quickly,

placed independently, at right angles or connected end to end. They provide economical and adequate facilities and have been approved by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Space in a børnehave is usually divided up into the following areas: an office near the front entrance, a suite of rooms for each group of children including a large group room which has a movable wall or a semi-detached anteroom, a cloak area, a wash room with one toilet per ten children, a kitchen, a personnel room, staff cloak room and wash room, an isolation room (for sick children, doctors' periodic visits, conferences, etc.) and supply depots. Depending on the size of the institution and affluence of the sponsoring organization at the time of building, there may also be spaces for wood work, theater, gymnastics, etc.

Window area should be at least one-sixth of the floor area. In the group room, the windows should face south toward the sun and should be low enough for preschool children to see out easily.

All buildings, whether originally børnehave-intended or not, must be made to meet the minimum space standards.

3. Outdoors. Access to the outside is from each group's cloak area and in most newer børnehave from the grouproom, too. The playground has grassy and paved surfaces all of which may be seen from indoors through the large windows in all rooms. The outdoor area must be enclosed by safety fencing.

Safety. Routine precautions are taken in designing and outfitting the building with regard to its use by children. One storey buildings are virtually without steps or raised thresholds. Floors are covered with shock absorbent surfaces which are easy to clean and don't get too cold. Ceilings are fitted with sound

absorbent sheets. Walls and ceilings are constructed so that they can stand hanging ropes, ladders etc. Water heaters have built-in temperature controls which prevent scalding. Wall heaters are recessed to reduce likelihood of contact. Room heaters or hot water pipes in cloak areas are placed behind the children's coat closets so that wet clothes and shoes dry more quickly. All door hinges are encased; electricity sockets have pick-proof covers. In order to see small children sitting on the other side of a closed door, french doors or doors with windows are installed. All glass used in the børnehav must be shatter-proof, and no glass may extend lower than 6 m. from the floor. All børnehaver must have a refrigerator to keep the daily milk cold. Since 1969 over sixteen guidelines, cirulaires and ordinances have been issued regarding safety and construction of børnehav.²⁷

Ownership and Operation. The Child Law places responsibility with the local authorities to see that services needed in the community are provided. Private groups and non-profit organizations are relied upon to take the initiative to establish needed børnehav and to generate new forms of care in step with changing needs of the neighborhood. That the private sector lives up to that expectation is demonstrated by the fact that 75 percent of all børnehaver are privately established and operated by an independent board of directors as a non-profit organization, (selvejende).²⁸ Most of the remaining institutions are kommune established and operated. In 1969 only 36 of over 50,000 børnehaver were director-owned, profit-making businesses.²⁹ Based on its conviction that social service operations should not be subject to the risk of compromised quality for the sake of profit, the government has limited the

amount of profit realizable to a specified percentage of the institution's income. It has also limited enrollment in profit-run børnehav to under 20 children.

Licensing requirements. To be "recognized" (anerkendt) and eligible for public subsidy, the børnehav--as well as infant centers, after-school centers, playgroups, clubs--must meet certain regulations. Local need for the institution must first be cleared with the local authorities (Social Committee). The prospective board of directors, the educational Head to be appointed and the building blueprints must be approved by the Social Committee. The size of the staff (determined by the enrollment, hours open, nature of the premises, plus any special factors) is established by the federal Directorate. To maintain the license, standards regarding educational work and medical and dental attention must be met. Staff of all børnehaver, whether owned and operated privately or publicly, are paid according to a state scale and receive fringe benefits according to the state Civil Servants Act.

Payment of Grants. Upon meeting state requirements all børnehav receive full reimbursement for property expenses (Child Law 1964 paragraph 70. 1-3) with four-sevenths of the amount coming from the state and three-sevenths from the kommune. Starting grants are available; thus community initiative may be mobilized into action without the fundamental obstacle of having no money. Medical and dental costs are fully reimbursed by the state. Running expenses are partially subsidized (state 35 percent, kommune 30 percent), with the remaining 35 percent covered by parents' payments (71.1-2). In 1971 - 1972 the average operational cost child per year in a

børnehave (calculated on average daily attendance over a 250-day year at 10 hours a day) was \$1,568.³⁰

Teacher Salaries and Benefits. The preschool teacher's work week is forty-one and three-quarters hours long. As civil service employees, the teachers' salaries are uniform across the country with a slight increase for cost of living in Copenhagen. Group teachers are placed on steps six to eight of the salary scale, which meant in 1973 a yearly income of \$6,938 to \$9,265.³¹ The average yearly salary of a director in a børnehave ranged between \$8,111 and \$11,378.³¹ The average børnehave teacher's salary is comparable to the salary of a social worker or a graduate nurse, and less than that of a public school teacher.

The børnehave position has clearly stated civil service fringe benefits, including maternity leave, sick and vacation pay, and tenure after two years. There is a national union empowered to negotiate for the profession, and a number of professional organizations.³²

Demand for Børnehave Teachers. At present there is a shortage of trained børnehave teachers. In 1971 there were 850 positions lacking qualified personnel to fill them. (The Ministry of Education responsible for training the teachers has not been able to keep abreast of the expansion in child care institutions engineered by the Ministry of Social Affairs.) Recruitment for job candidates takes place through professional organization papers, the daily newspaper, notices in seminaries and by word of mouth.

Cost to Parents. In 1974 the average monthly fee to parents is \$58.³³ There are standard scales which reduce the fees for each additional child from the same family. Family payments are

made directly to the kommune which in turn pays the børnehavn, relieving the family-børnehavn relationship of the potentially stressful financial interaction.

If the family has financial difficulties, it may apply to the local Child and Youth Welfare Committee for assistance. Depending on the number of children at home, the CYWC may grant a place two-fifths free (for families with incomes under \$ 7,000 per year), three-fifths free or a full free place (for families with incomes under \$3,300 per year. Awards are made according to strictly routine procedures and in no way affect the child's chances for admission to the børnehavn.

Parent Influence. Parents have been given formal part in the operation of their children's børnehavn through an amendment to the Child Law of 1964.³⁴ Circulaire number 44 of 1971 states that non-kommune owned institutions shall have at least two members of the Board of Directors (bestyrelsen) equal in status with the other Directors, elected from parents by parents at a full parent meeting.

Kommune owned institutions operate according to kommune policies and administrative procedures. They have no separate Board of Directors. Therefore parents of children in kommune børnehavn elect a Parent Council (forældreråd) with a minimum of three members who must meet twice a year. The center's Head and one of the professional staff must attend the Parent Council meetings as non-voting members. The Head or the chairman of the Parent Council reports results of those meetings to parents and to the Social Committee, the organ of local government responsible for communal social institutions. The Parent Council may vote on guidelines for the institution's educational work, renovations or additions to the

building and recommendations for the budget.

General parent meetings attended also by the professional staff and the Board of Directors (or Parent Council) must be held at least twice a year. The first meeting normally occurs immediately after the beginning of the school year, at which time the parent representatives (to the Board or Council) are elected for a one year term.

Board of Directors. Børnehave which are owned and operated by the kommune have no separate board of directors. Instead they are managed by the City Council's Social Committed (Socialudvalg). Self-owning institutions elect their own board of five members, two of which are elected from and by the parents. Responsibilities of the board in conjunction with the Head are to prepare the budget, stand responsible for the economy of the børnehave and see that the børnehave operates according to its educational and social commitment.

Admissions and Waiting lists. Until recently each børnehave maintained its own waiting list. A child could be registered from the day of the doctor's attest to the woman's pregnancy. Because of the general awareness that openings occurred so infrequently, many parents registered their child in more than one børnehave. This naturally created a tremendous amount of paper work for each børnehave.

To ameliorate this situation, many kommune have instituted a central waiting list which all kommune-owned institutions use, and which any self-owning institutions may choose to use. The parents need to register only once, at one location. When an institution has an opening, it informs the local office of the age and sex of the

child needed to fill the spot. The kommune then offers the place to the family with such a child and with the most seniority on the waiting list.

When institutions administer their own waiting lists, they make their own admissions policy. If an infant center is associated with the børnehave, there may be an agreement to enroll the flock of three year olds each August when the oldest børnehave children vacate for first grade. This leaves only occasional openings created by drop-outs in the older age brackets. Eligibility for such spots is generally determined first by selecting children of the age appropriate to fill the opening, second by their length of time on the waiting list, and third by the sex to best balance the group. From this group many institutions give special consideration to children of single parents, working mothers and socially distressed families. Other børnehave, especially those in areas where the clientele has a high incidence of social problems, use straight age, sex and time on the waiting list as determinants (to avoid having a total population of problem beset children). Once a child has a place, it may not be withdrawn without compelling grounds.

Scope of Services. a) Education: The educational program is the subject of Volume II by the same author. b) Medical and Dental Care: Until 1974 all children have been given routine medical examinations in the børnehave twice a year by a physician. Parents were encouraged to be present for at least the first examinations. The child's group teacher or aide also accompanied the child. Reports of check-ups were filed in the børnehave, sent to the child's family and also to the family doctor. Because in Denmark children between birth and school age are entitled to receive

medical examinations at specified intervals free of charge to their parents, some changes have been made in børnehave medical procedures. To reduce redundancy in bureaucracy and financing, from 1973 onwards the børnehave will phase out the routine medicals. Instead parents will be expected to arrange for exams independently. The pediatricians associated with børnehave will use their time more efficiently to screen for special problems. Dental attention is provided according to the policy of the individual kommune.

c) Sick care: Børnehave do not have the facilities or the staff to offer sick child care. If a child becomes sick while at the børnehave, he is isolated from the rest of the group until a parent or friend can fetch him. If family arrangements cannot be made to tend the child at home, the parents may call the Social Office of the local town hall and request Housemother Relief (Husmoderafløsning). The fee for this home helper is fixed according to the user's income. Families whose income falls below a certain point may apply to the Child and Youth Welfare Committee for reimbursement. d) Food and Nutrition: Children who arrive at the børnehave before 8 a.m. are given breakfast. All children in the børnehave, as well as in other daycare institutions and schools, receive government provided vitamins and a quarter-liter of milk daily. This is generally served with the lunch, packs of sandwiches which the children bring from home. In larger institutions where there is a central kitchen with staff (e.g. in a hospital or community center location) a hot noon meal is provided. In some smaller institutions one of the staff members or a part-time kitchen helper prepares simple sandwiches for lunch. The center's Board of Directors determines whether or not the budget will be

expanded to cover center-provided lunches. The fruit and raw vegetable for the afternoon snack are almost always provided by the center. Candy, cookies, chewing gum are discouraged if not forbidden in the børnehave. After lunch tooth brushing is becoming a common ritual.

Attention in Special Cases. In the last five years, handicapped children not severely disabled or retarded have been integrated into regular børnehave. Supplementary services are available so that the children can spend a good part of their day among normal healthy children. Those needing regular treatments or therapy may be picked up by a bus or parents and returned to the børnehave after the appointment. The experiment with integration of handicapped has been successful enough to have approval now from the Child and Youth Welfare Administration. Børnehave have on the average 8 to 10 percent of such children enrolled in normal programs. Additional funds are allocated to these centers (though the staff would far rather have their enrollments reduced instead).

Børnehave staff who observe any abnormality in a child first discuss the problem with the child's parents. Sight and hearing problems are often spotted in the børnehave. The family is then referred to the appropriate specialists. Treatment of speech, social and psychological problems of children in the børnehave is harder for the institution to obtain due to personnel shortages. (Special Børnehave for severely disturbed children exist as sections of large hospitals or psychiatric clinics.) Some kommune have Child Guidance Centers (provisions stated in paragraphs 60 - 63 of the 1964 Child Law) staffed by trained social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists. Clients may be referred by the local Child and Youth Welfare Committee, by children's homes, by

institutions or by the client himself. In reality there is a great variance in the amount and quality of professional guidance different børnehavene obtain, both in the form of teacher advisement or direct observation and treatment of children. Some Child Guidance Centers have so many clients per specialist that they simply cannot take on the added burden of consultation to børnehavene. Frequently the subject of education journal articles is the serious shortage of psychologists and their services in the pre-school institutions.^{35,36} This means, of course, that many early childhood disturbances are not treated until they become complex problems of school children.

Hours of Operation. Most børnehavene are full-day (Heldagsbørnehavene) year round institutions. They are open ten to twelve hours a day, between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., Monday through Friday. Care must also be available for part of the day on Saturdays if parents have resistered need for such attention. Sunday operating hours occur only in special cases, such as in a hospital børnehavene. The institution's Board of Directors and the Head determine vacation closings if there are any. Between Christmas and New Years when many children stay home, one institution out of several is kept open to care for those who still need it.

There are also special forms of børnehavene with shorter operation hours. Half-day Børnehavene (Halvdagsbørnehavene) hold a morning session, or a morning and an afternoon session. In either case, the children attend only half day. There are also Short-day Børnehavene (Korttidsbørnehavene) which may run from four to seven hours daily, usually covering the morning hours when the demand for child care is greatest.

In general the regulations, quality of premises, equipment, staff training and educational program of the part-day børnehav are equivalent to the full-day børnehav. The difference between the institutions is primarily in hours and the amount of custodial functions performed for the children.³⁷ The difference in clientele is that the children attending part day have a mother at home or working only part-time.

Emergency 24-Hour Care. In a few community centers already housing an established daytime børnehav, a new program has been initiated called the Children's Hotel. The intent is to prevent a total milieu shift for the child or siblings (two to fifteen years of age) who due to some family emergency temporarily (one to ninety days) cannot be cared for at home. Rather than being sent far off to relatives or to a strange boarding home where siblings are often separated, the child may remain in his normal daytime setting until closing hour (of the børnehav, school or after-school center). Then the children go upstairs to the Hotel which is well-staffed, cozy and operated in a family-like manner. Children and staff eat dinner together in the dining-TV-playroom. The younger children share bedrooms, the older ones have their own. One staff member is a permanent resident with an apartment across from the children's bedrooms. The happy, playful behavior observed in children during a period of family crisis is testimony to the Child Hotel's effectiveness in at least reducing the impact of the potential trauma of the dislocation.

Special Types of Børnehav. In the course of the preceeding description of børnehav, several types varying slightly in form were mentioned: the Half-day Børnehav, the Short-Day Børnehav

and the Special Børnehave (for handicapped, retarded, psychotic children). There is one other which deserves mention, the Outskirts (Udflytter) Børnehave. It provides a full-day program for city children in a country premises. The compelling reason for this type is inability to find suitable premises in the city. Parents deliver their children to a departure point in the morning and pick them up there in the evening. The compensation for the inflexibility of attendance hours, the long daily transportation and the detachment of the child's børnehave milieu from the parents is the rural location usually in the woods or near the beach. The country facility must meet all børnehave standards and is eligible for routine public subsidy plus state reimbursement for the extra expense of transportation fees. In 1971 of the approximately 250 børnehaver in Copenhagen, 16 were the Udflytter type.

Program Organization

Grouping of Children. Children in the børnehave have traditionally been divided into three groups, according to age: 12 "Small" aged two to four years of age, 20 "Medium" aged three to five and 20 "Big" aged five to seven (or school beginning age).

The research findings which stimulated age-integrating in the infant center have worked their influence in the børnehave, too. Many centers now have age-integrated groups with children from 3 to 7 years of age in each family group. The number of children in each group averages about 20. The ultimate outgrowth of the age-integration concept is the Integrated Institution (Integrerede Institutionen). It is composed of family groups mixing children who would ordinarily be separated into the various daytime care

institutions (creches, børnehav and after-school centers) spanning the ages of zero to fourteen years. While børnehav-aged children are present in this type of institution, it is not a børnehav and thus is more appropriately discussed under a separate heading to follow.

Professional Staff. The professional staff members in a børnehav are called børnehav pædagog. They are graduates of børnehav teacher training colleges. Recent graduating classes have been producing 83 percent female and 17 percent male pre-school teachers.³⁸ The number of trained staff per institution is determined by the Directorate according to a formula which takes into account the number of children in the institution the number of hours per week the institution is open, with allowances made for time teachers must spend on opening, closing and administrative activities. Further alterations are made for special circumstances caused by having handicapped children or problematic facilities.³⁹ On the average the calculation comes out to a teacher:child ratio of 1:10. In addition to the teacher working with the children, there may be an aide, a conscientious objector satisfying his military obligation by time in a social institution, and a student teacher.

There are no particular training requirements for the aide. Before 1973, most aides were Pre-students (forpraktikant) who were gathering their six-month work experience which was a pre-requisite to seminary study. The huge numbers of hopeful candidates trying to accomplish the sort of apprenticeship congested the institutions. That pre-requisite has been abolished. Nevertheless, many young people still choose to test the field before making the career and training decision. Those who were once called Pre-students are now

called Aides.

A Professional Committee (Medarbejderråd) consisting of the Head, all full-time and part-time teachers meets four times a year with attendance mandatory. Its function is to discuss and determine the educational and social programs of the institution; make work and vacation schedules, budget recommendations; propose building changes; submit the application for public subsidy; perform a number of minor functions. Aides and student teachers may attend meetings without vote. Officers are elected and an agenda and minutes are required.

While the Professional Committee discusses educational guidelines for the institution as a whole, the individual teacher establishes her own educational program for her own group of children.

Each børnehave has a professional director or Head (leder). The requirement for the position is "legal age and the necessary theoretical training and practical experiences to handle the position".⁴⁰ Usually the Head is a seminary graduate with some years of teaching and more ambition and desire for responsibility than the average preschool teacher. She has usually been active in participating in continuing education courses. While the position entails administrative work, the Head continues direct contact with the children. Except in very large institutions, this means half-day responsibility for one of the regular groups. The Head, in conjunction with the professional staff, is responsible for defining and carrying out the educational program.

A number of institutions have experimented with a new collective administrative organization (kollektiv ledelse) in which the responsibilities usually falling on one person, the Head, are

divided among the professional staff. Several such collective administrations have demonstrated their effectiveness and the form was approved by the Directorate. In the spring of 1974 there were over 50 in operation.

Interaction with Parents. In addition to the official modes for parent influence already discussed, parents have frequent informal contacts with the børnehave teacher. Since there are no such entities as school buses for pre-schoolers, and since it is the rare occasion when a sibling or friend delivers or picks up the børnehave child, a parent is in the børnehave two times a day. Also, since children do not all arrive and depart at the same time, the teacher has a chance at one of these times to exchange some casual conversation with the parent.

INTEGRATED INSTITUTION (Integrerede Institution)

The concept behind this new form of daytime institution is grouping across ages, so that children from one to ten (or fourteen) are integrated in family groups which remain intact throughout the children's participation in the institutional program. This structure is in contrast to the traditional division of children into narrow peer groups within separate age defined institutions: infant centers, børnehave, and after school centers.

The integrated institution sprouted from ideas presented by Hedvig Jacoby,⁴¹ a child psychiatrist who criticized the traditional institutional forms for age divisions which force the child to make frequent milieu shifts as he grows up through the series of daytime institutions. She furthermore maintained that infant centers of the early 1960's were insufficiently stimulating with regard to language, intellectual and sensori-motor development.

Enthusiasm to amalgamate divisions and regroup children was generated from within the staffs of two relatively new community centers. Since their inceptions in 1971, both have turned into dynamic operations in spite of inherited architectural handicaps. The Ministry of Social Affairs in 1972 approved them as licensed Integrated Institutions, now a legitimate institutional form. Their evolutions and recommendations are being considered seriously for guidelines to future undertakings in this spirit. As of spring 1974 there were 29 more center clusters in the process of becoming Integrated Institutions.

The impact and the implications of the Integrated format for the future modes of group child care are tremendous. Therefore the Integrated Institution warrants careful scrutiny here. The short description which follows is based on one example. While each experiment has had to cope with a given set of unique problems and has evolved its own unique solutions, in principle and philosophy the institutions are fundamentally similar.

Organizational Structure

The basic unit is the Family Group consisting of 3 half-day preschoolers and 15 full-day children ranging in age from one to twelve years. For each Family Group there is one trained teacher, two aides and often a student teacher, or a teacher:child ratio of 1:5. Zero to one year olds are in a separate group. The Family Group is a consistent and continuing supplement to the child's home environment. Each group has its own home room of about 50 m² opening directly onto the playground in the back and the covered commons on the front. Play, close contact, eating, arrival and departure take place in the Family Group. Each adult is

responsible for daily personal contact with three to four specific children in that Family Group.

The next step in organization is the Component (afsnit) made up of two neighboring Family Groups. The Component is a relatively self-sufficient entity built around the areas shared: dressing-cloak room, toilet, sleeping room and kitchen. The children and teachers of the Component have opportunity for close contact during early morning hours and closing hours when attendance and staff are reduced and the Family Groups within the Components are combined. When one teacher's special activities attract children of one age group, the other teacher of the Component can attend to the remaining children. The companion group provides children with expanded selection for peer play still close to "home", and provides the teacher with a colleague for on-going exchanges on a practical and theoretical level. Together the Family Group and the Component form a secure setting of a functionally feasible size.

Special Features

To supplement activities in the Family Group there are optional activities in special locales with specialist teachers who add enrichments uncommon to the typical child care center.

1. Workshop. There is a full-time trained staff member attached to the wood and metal workshop. Children of all ages may use it. By natural distribution the younger children appear in the mornings and older children in the afternoons. In the spring and summer, the teacher is outdoors in the Building Playground which functions on lines similar to the indoor workshop.

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2. Drama. There is a three room complex of areas equipped

with stage, piano costumes, slide projectors, 16 m.m. projector, marionette and puppet theaters and rhythm instruments. A full time teacher is attached to these areas which are scheduled for particular groups in the mornings and are open to any child interested in the afternoons.

3. Music Instruction. Children in this institution have the rare opportunity to take music lessons on recorder or guitar when they reach school age. Each Family Group has a scheduled period when it may have a music-rhythms experience.

4. The Commons. This large 500 m² central plaza is covered and carpeted. Skylights allow natural light to stream in. All grouprooms open directly onto the Commons through sliding glass doors. The space is intended to be inviting, decorated with banners, mobiles and plants. Here children may play with pillow-blocks and mattresses or swing and mix with children from other groups. Teachers have their breaks and lunch at one of the clusters of tables flanking each of three faces of the Commons. These tables substitute for the personnel room; thus teachers are always in view of the children. The Commons has proven a highly positive element in facilitating the process of integration. In Danish it is called Torvet, the market place.

5. Auditorium. An indoor amphitheater descends from ground level to basement level by upholstered, hard polyfoam steps. The stage is divided midway by a glass wall. On the outside is an outdoor amphitheater which rises up to the outdoor playground. The center's experience is that this room, the most expensive one to build, is rarely used. Children prefer to do their dramatic play in the drama rooms, in their group room or out on the commons.

Standards and Regulations for Integrated Institutions

Regulations governing ownership, administration, grants, safety, health and guidance services, parent influence, etc. are basically the same as those applying to børnehave, described previously. Figures for floor area, fees, teacher:child ratios and group size are averages or weighted averages of numbers in the regulations applying to infant centers, børnehave and after school centers.

Professional Staff Organization and Interaction

Once a month the entire professional staff meets to discuss general issues, exchange relevant information, and make center decisions. Any business which will be presented to full staff is first fleshed out in one of the small committees to which each staff member belongs.

Each Component meets once a week to discuss local matters including practical problems, individual children and program plans.

Educational Direction. Three Heads function as a collective to coordinate center activity with each Head being personally responsible for one particular set of groups. The Heads are frequently invited to lecture on the concept and experience of the Integrated Institution.

Business Administration

Because the center is kommune operated, the waiting list, extra social services and financial matters are handled by the kommune's Social Office. A full time secretary is hired to handle administrative office work, ordering and petty cash funds. Each

Family Group has discretion over a portion of the budget for materials, equipment and entertainment.

Evaluation of the Integration Format

In less than two years of operation, the Integrated Institution used as model here has produced two volumes describing and internally evaluating the integration experiment. Making their general experience and experimental findings publicly available is a tremendous boon to subsequent integration efforts. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the analysis and evaluation of the programs was undertaken entirely, from instrument development to finish, by members of the teaching staff.

The Commission for Architecture and Building (KAB) also has undertaken an evaluation of the Integrated Institution.^{42,43} It judged them favorably with regard to flexibility in serving the community, better use of the facility as well as better use of the professional staff. An examination of the daily rhythm showed that both facilities and personnel in traditional institutions are idle during certain periods of the day, such as when young children sleep in the afternoon and when older children are in school in the morning. At other times of the day, great demands are made on the adult for competing kinds of attention spaces are more crowded and there is increased competition for equipment and materials. Age-integrating institutions distributes attendance more evenly and makes children's demands more varied, lowers the teacher-child ratio at any one time and reduces the total group size.

BØRNEHAVEKLASSE (The Danish term will be used throughout for these kindergarten classes in the schools.)

The børnehaveklasse is legislatively different from all the other programs mentioned heretofore in that it is part of the school system under the Ministry of Education. This difference alone affects the structure of the preschool program as delineated below.

Auspices and Premises

Børnehaveklasse are found in public and private schools across Denmark. Their establishment depends on local demand and availability of space in the individual school. The classroom is located on the ground floor near the primary classes. It is outfitted very much like a børnehavé with low open shelves stocked with games, toys and art materials. There are large open spaces for movement, direct access to the outdoors and no desks. Floor area ranges between 85 m² to 160 m². All new locales have running water, kitchen corners, an adjacent cloak room and wash room. The børnehaveklasse usually has access to the school's gym and sometimes to the crafts and drama rooms.

Outdoors

Outdoor space is shared with school children during recess, usually with just the lower grades. Most play areas are classic school yards--flat asphalt surfaces. Some have a strip of grass and a sandbox. But few have the stimulating outdoor environments, equipment and materials of the ordinary børnehavé.

Cost

As a genuine part of the school system, the børnehaveklasse

is supported entirely by the school budget. Therefore it is free of extra cost to parents.

Admissions

Children must be fully five years old before the beginning of the school year in mid-August and not yet seven years old. Since one of the functions of the børnehaveklasse is to familiarize the child with his future school, the family should reside in the school district and intend to send the child to first grade in the same school.

Scope of services

Børnehaveklasse programs are child development based. (See Volume II for detailed description.) Børnehaveklasse children automatically come under the school health programs. They receive a medical examination from the school doctor. Availability of dental check-ups and treatments is dependent upon whether the individual kommune voluntarily subsidizes these services.

Special Services

The school psychologist's help may be sought by the teacher or parents of the børnehaveklasse child. Before transition to first grade, children who are still rather young or immature may be examined by the psychologist to determine the proper course of action, ie. whether the child should proceed to first grade with the help of "support classes", be referred to a specialist or remain in a børnehaveklasse a second year. Speech therapy is available during børnehaveklasse hours in some schools.

Hours

Børnehaveklasse sessions are two hours and forty-five minutes long, either in the morning from 8 a.m. to 10:45 a.m. or in the afternoon from 11:15 a.m. to 2 p.m., Monday through Friday. The børnehaveklasse come under school vacation schedules.

Enrollment is voluntary, but regular attendance is expected so that the child can grow accustomed to the demands of school. Requests for special absences, e.g. vacations during non-holiday times, are cleared through the principal.

Group Size

The recommended group size is eighteen children with the official maximum set at twenty-two.

Staff

There is one teacher per group. Most teachers are trained børnehaveteachers, educated in a børnehaveseminary, but school teachers with a specialty in small children (S-line) or after-school center teachers (fritidspædagog) may also be hired. The børnehaveklasse teacher has the professional rights, obligations and job benefits of the school teacher (Guidelines of School Law, 17 March 1970), and she is paid out of the school budget. Her salary, nevertheless, is appreciably less than that of the school teacher--which is still more than if she were working at a børnehavet. She has shorter hours and longer vacations than the børnehavet worker, but also the responsibility for two groups of children each day. Generally she has the responsibility for and help of a student teacher.

Parents

Interaction. Many parents deliver and pick up their children for at least the first few months of børnehaveklasse. Since the hours of the session are fixed, the luxury of conversation with the teacher afforded in the børnehav through gradual arrival and departure no longer exists. The format used to transmit messages between home and school is the Message Book. The child receives one of these little notebooks each year through the early grades. The Message Book and the school bag are status symbols which the children importantly carry back and forth each day. Parent meetings must be held twice each year. A parent representative is elected to act as liason between the børnehaveklasse teacher and the parents. Parent helpers are solicited for class trips since there is only one teacher for the large group.

Influence. Parents of børnehaveklasse children are on equal footing with parents of other school children. They have the same voting rights on school matters and in school board elections and are themselves eligible for candidacy.

PROGRAM AVAILABILITY AND PRESCHOOL POPULATION

In 1971 about 9 percent of the children between zero and three years of age were in licensed care. Of these, 5 percent were in infant centers and 4 percent were in licensed family day care.⁴⁴ That same year 23 percent of the children between three and seven years of age were enrolled in various types of licensed børnehav⁴⁵ and 28 percent of the six year olds attended børnehaveklasse in schools.

Figures for early 1973 show that licensed programs serve 12 to 13 percent of the zero to three year old population, half enrolled in infant centers and half in family day care. Børnehav serve 28 percent and family day care serves another 2 percent of the three to seven year old population. Børnehaveklasse is attended by 60 percent of Denmark's six year olds.

The rate of growth in daytime programs over the last decade and a half has been extraordinarily rapid (see Table I) while the number of eligible children has increased only slightly. Early 1973 reports show that 85,800 children are attending approved børnehav, with an additional 2,000 children in so-called "permitted" (as opposed to approved) børnehav. This approximates the 1974 need for 87,000 places predicted in 1969.⁴⁶ Probably the key factor in realizing the planned institutional growth was the revision of construction financing terms incorporated into the Child and Young Persons Act of 1964.⁴⁷

TABLE I

Growth of Licensed Preschool Programs Between 1958 and 1973.

	1958 ^a		1968 ^a		1969 ^a		1971 ^b			1973 ^d		
	No. of Inst.	No. of Places	Inst.	Places	Inst.	Places	Inst.	Places	% of age group in care	Inst.	Places	% of age group in care
Infant Centers (0-3 years)	118	4,134	187	6,781	228	8,169	313	11,254	5	430	15,800	6-7
Legesteder (2-6 years)	4	79	37	791	47	993	80	1,682	-	-	-	-
Børnehaver (3-6 years)	643	28,957	1,052	45,092	1,173	50,538	1,539	65,864	23	1,925	85,800	28
Age Integrated Inst. (0-14 years)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	350	-	29	-	-
Family Day Care (0-3 years) (4-6 years)	-	-	-	-	-	4,000		10,884 3,907	4 1		14,000 6,000	6.25 2
Børnehaveklasser (6 years)			357 ^c	7,000 ^c	562 ^c	1,100 ^c	1,105	20,879	28	2,200 ^c	45,000 ^c	60

Sources for statistics:

- a. Horsten (1969) p. 218
- b. A. Helmstedt in E. Norland (1972)
- c. Børnehaveklasse Union (1974)
- d. Organization Frie Børnehaver og Fritidshjem (1973)

Who are the children attending børnehave?

The majority of children in børnehave have a single parent or a mother working at least part time. This population will continue to be given admissions advantage as long as demand for places exceeds the supply.

A 1968 Danish study on the "Caretaking of Married Women's Children" provides some description of børnehave users: the higher the income, social status and level of education, the greater is the tendency of married women to send their children to the børnehave. Only 7 percent of married women in the lower income level sent their children to børnehave, as compared with 17 percent in the middle income level and 30 percent in the highest income level. Of non-working mothers, six times as many from the highest income level than from the lowest level sent their children to the børnehave (23 percent and 4 percent respectively).⁴⁸

Two inferences from the above report are worthy of mention. First, there is an endorsement by the upper socio-economic strata of the beneficial nature of the børnehave experience.⁴⁹ Secondly, there is a mix of children from different social strata (uncommon in American day care or private nursery schools) because the educational quality of the program attracts children from upper economic strata and from families with non-working mothers, as well as children from single parent or working-mother families. If there is a variable distinguishing the classes in Denmark with regard to the børnehave attendance, it is perhaps the amount of time per day that the child spends in the børnehave. Sjølund reported that 49 percent of children from the upper-middle class

Copenhagen suburb of Gentofte attended a børnehave half-day, while only 13 percent of the children living in Copenhagen proper attended half-day.⁵⁰

What is the demand for børnehave places?

On the average, waiting lists have grown shorter in recent years. The building boom has provided thousands of new places. Procedures for handling waiting lists have been made more efficient. Since 1966 two alternative preschool programs, family day care and in-school børnehaveklasse, have been instituted on a large scale absorbing some of the børnehave population. Also in 1966 the birth control pill went on the market in Denmark, and Denmark now has achieved zero population growth. Pregnancies averted in the late 1960's meant reduced børnehave demand in the early 1970's.

The Child and Youth Welfare Administration's Planning Division cites economic factors as the major cause for decreased demand. Taxes and the cost of living have risen significantly and along with them the fees to parents for børnehave attendance. Scales for family incomes qualifying for tuition assistance have remained static without even an upgrading for inflation. More and more mothers, especially with second and third children, find it more economical to remain at home than to raise the family's tax bracket by working and to have to pay for two or three institution places. Family day care has the very practical attraction of costing far less for infant care than an infant center. Børnehave-klasse which is free, coupled with relatively inexpensive care at an after-school center, is chosen by some parents, in spite of the multiple milieu shift required of the six year old.

One potential user population continues to grow in numbers.

It consists of children from families who do not require daytime care but who are aware of the quality of børnehave programs and are educated to the importance of the preschool experience for the child's development.

This group's desire is largely for half-day places because the mothers are either non-working or part-time employed. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1960 showed demand for a 116 percent increase over the existing number of half-day børnehave places (with 90 percent of these half-day places desired during the morning hours), whereas the demand for full-day places was for a 71 percent increase of the existing number of places.⁵¹ At the time of the survey, one quarter of all children in the børnehave attended half-day, primarily in the morning hours.

What are the plans for børnehave places in the future?

A 1971 report of the Ministry of Education predicted that by 1985 infant center places would be needed by 30 percent of the zero to three year old population, that børnehave places would be needed by 72 percent of the three to seven year old population, and that school børnehaveklasse places would be needed by 100 percent of the five to seven year old population.

The Ministry of Social Affairs' public commitment, as stated in the 1963 report on Børnehave Problems, is to make børnehave places available to children of all parents who desire to have their children attend.⁵² Based on evidence of the past, it would not be inappropriate to consider the chances favorable for realizing such a goal. First of all, the ability demonstrated up to now in assessing and planning to meet the need has been remarkable. Secondly, the key concept in building institutions

today is flexibility. Communities now ought to be better equipped with adaptable daytime centers which can fulfill the socio-educational needs of children, whether they happen to be at the børnehave age or another age. Thirdly, the building laws and easy financing which enabled the børnehave building boom of the mid-1960's are still in effect. Fourthly, coordination with the Ministry of Education has improved, and the børnehave seminaries have been increased in number to train teachers for the burst of new staff positions opening daily. Since there are three applicants for every student place in a seminary, there is an abundant resource of potential teachers.

On the other hand the political picture of early 1974 looks somewhat threatening for the progress of child care services. Rising taxes, already twice as high as those in the United States, have caused Danes to react strongly and have brought into the political arena an entirely new right wing party whose platform is to reduce income taxes, raise sales taxes (to 20 percent) and economize on education and social services. The extent to which Danes will rearrange their priorities and transfer their backing to this party will definitely affect the future expansion and refinement of child care programs.

VII. OTHER INSTITUTIONS GENERALLY RELATED TO EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Seminaries for training børnehavet teachers (børnehavet seminarier)⁵³

The first Danish børnehavet teacher training seminary was founded in 1885. In 1973 there were 24 seminaries enrolling approximately 3,000 students. These institutions come under the Ministry of Education which sets the standards and the curriculum and which supports them completely. Each is, nevertheless, an independent, self-governing, non-profit institution. Some have the special identity of being more politically oriented or more experimental than others, but none endorses a particular or exclusive educational ideology.

The basic requirements for admission to a seminary are that the candidate be 18 years old and have completed at least 9 years of education. Further qualification is determined according to a system awarding points for experience, national achievement tests and further education. For each student place available today, there are more than three applicants. Upon admission, students are grouped into classes of 20 persons each. These basic groups remain more or less intact through the three year course of training. Male students now comprise 17 percent of the enrollment. The same curriculum is followed by those who will be teaching in børnehavet and by those who will teach børnehavetklasse in the schools, even though the goals and demands of the two jobs have important differences.

The training program is arranged so that about two-thirds of the hours are devoted to class work and theory.⁵⁴ The other third is spent on placements in the field. Great emphasis is placed on

interaction between theoretical knowledge and practical experience. Each student has an advisor with whom she or he meets regularly in conference hours also when out on field placements. In addition to acquiring knowledge, building skills and gaining field experience during the training period, the student is encouraged to think seriously about herself, her personality, feelings and values. Because preschool teaching is highly informal, because it involves much spontaneous decision making and little formalized or prescribed behavior, the seminaries consider it very important for the prospective teacher to be conscious of his or her own attitudes, strengths and weaknesses.

Seminary faculty see the student's years at the seminary as key period for the development of decision making and problem solving abilities. Thus students are treated as peers and given representation (50 percent) on curriculum and business committees. There is a distinct air of informality in all the seminaries. Almost all classes are small and conducted as seminars or discussion groups. Independent study projects are common. Graduation takes place at the end of three years, upon completion of a special project plus a written or oral comprehensive exam.

Seminary faculty who teach psychology and educational theory are university graduates. Those teaching social medicine are physicians. The other subjects are taught primarily by bornehave teachers with many years of experience and extra course work, some with advanced training in speech or special education. Most faculty positions are part-time, filled by persons actively involved with some child serving institution. Almost no seminary staff conduct research.

Opportunities for further education

Advanced study. Since 1959 one graduate level program has been offered for børnehave and børnehaveklasse teachers by the Danish Royal College of Education (Lærerhøjskole) in Copenhagen and also at the Århus branch. A prerequisite for application to this "Year Course" is a minimum of three years experience. Most teachers by the time they are accepted have been teaching for eight to ten years because of the long waiting list. Each location admits a class of 45 teachers for the full-time, 10 month course of study. Classes meet five days a week for about 18 hours, with some weeks devoted to study trips and independent projects. Tuition is free. Furthermore, all teachers who will return to their positions after the year course continue to receive full salary and the child care institutions receive state support to hire substitutes for the year. Unfortunately, the excellent course reaches only 90 teachers per year, a very small percentage of the active professionals and only a small portion of those who apply.

Børnehaveklasse teachers have in the last year been permitted to register for semester courses in education and psychology given primarily for public school teachers at the College of Education. These classes meet during school hours once or twice a week. Tuition is free, and the teachers get substitute coverage for the hours they are away from children.

Supplementary education

Refresher courses: courses given several times yearly for four week sessions to review basics of early childhood education and the current ideas in child care. The intention is to draw trained but inactive professionals back into teaching. Updating

courses: courses to update the active preschool teacher's knowledge of psychology and education, based on the latest research and theory in the field. Given as one to four week seminars for groups of 25 teachers. Week-end courses: Saturday or week-end workshops on special topics chosen by the sponsoring group which may be a professional organization, teacher's union, community night school, an individual specialist or one of the seminaries. Such courses are advertized in the professional newsletters. Supervising teacher courses: three to five day sessions arranged by the seminaries once or twice a year to orient the active preschool teachers who receive student teachers into their classrooms for field placements. Courses for newly appointed Heads of institutions: one week conferences given by the Ministry of Social affairs to advise new center Heads of the political and administrative aspects of their new position.

There is a great demand for more and better coordinated supplementary and advanced studies for preschool teachers, as demonstrated by the tremendous number of applicants for every course opening. The growth and change of ideas in child development and early childhood education necessitates updating courses. The new demands on the børnehave teacher for skills which were not cultivated during her basic training require that new courses be designed and made available to active teachers. The fact that 56 percent of the preschool teachers become inactive within ten years after graduation may be attributed in part to the inadequacies in continuing education. Access to such courses is important for professional stimulation and refinement of skills which both affect the quality of job satisfaction. There are no built-in job

incentives for keeping professionally up-to-date. No course or program leads to a further degree or a salary scale increase. Nor is any training required after graduation from the seminary in order to maintain a teaching or Head position.

The lack of systematic planning of post graduate education means that most courses must be conducted on a very basic level, with very little knowledge assumed (the Year Course being the major exception). The subject matter of courses is to a great extent a direct reflection of the particular interests of unrelated individuals or groups taking the initiative to offer them. The teacher seeking further education may not find in the random selection available courses relevant to her particular needs.

A major problem in providing effective further education arises from the administrative division between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Affairs, which makes the former responsible for adult programs but the latter responsible for preschool programs. The Ministry of Education in 1970 established a planning commission for post graduate education of preschool teachers but as of spring 1974, few of their recommendations have been put into effect.

State Education Library (Danske Pædagogiske Bibliotek)

The State Education Library in its new quarters has 190,000 volumes in the fields of child psychology, teaching and education. The library subscribes to over a 1,000 national and foreign journals and maintains up to date ERIC files on microfiche.

Over many years the library has built up a valuable collection of foreign and Danish picture books and literature for

children. All the text books used in the Danish schools and some series used in other countries are available for circulation.

Within the library facility is a mastercraftsman bookbindery and a printing and reproduction division. A library service unit organizes internal and itinerant exhibitions and provides consultant services regarding teaching aids.

The most unusual feature of the library is its open shelf display of games, toys and devices for use in preschool and primary education. The comprehensive collection encompasses most high quality, educational items available in Denmark from a repertoire of international manufacturers, including classics like Montessori, Diene, and Cuisinaire materials.

Teacher Centers (Skolecentral)

These centers have been in existence since 1933. Today there are over 50 of them located across the country. The newer ones have incorporated many of the features and practices developed by the British counterparts. While these centers are designed primarily to serve public school teachers, many kommunes have invited preschool teachers to take advantage of the facilities. Teachers may use the dark room and duplicating equipment or have the work performed by the center staff. The center stocks class sized sets of materials to supplement the text book systems used in most schools. Teachers may order and have delivered to their classroom film strips, extra readings, tape recordings and slides.

Periodically the center arranges demonstrations of new educational devices and teaching approaches. Small conference rooms are available for use by teacher groups.

Research in Early Childhood

In Denmark research in early childhood education, child rearing and influences of daytime institutions on child development has been very scanty with some increase in interest in the late 1960's. There is a hiatus between those who conduct research and those who teach, with only an exceptional few teachers on the graduate level pursuing their own research programs. None of the preschool teacher seminaries have laboratory schools for children as part of their operation.

One of the impediments to the study and improvement of child care programs is the disjunction in administration noted previously, i.e. that adult education comes under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and the preschool programs under the Ministry of Social Affairs. Furthermore, the Danish Institute for Educational Research maintains a prized independence from the university, government and ministries, such that it is under no obligation to train graduate students and has complete freedom to determine research topics. Only recently has one division of the Education Institute undertaken a project in early childhood to study the transition period for children surrounding entrance to first grade.

The Danish Institute for Social Research, on the other hand, bases about one half of its research projects on needs defined by the public sector. One important contribution to the field was a critical survey of all published international research on the effect of preschool programs on child development, with particular attention to psychological and social development (Sjølund, 1969). This compilation is currently being translated into English and

will be marketed by a British firm late in 1974. Jacob Vedel-Petersen, also of the Institutue for Social Research, has been active in early childhood research, investigating topics such as child rearing problems in Denmark, norm conflicts between parents' and professionals' rearing practices and children's own reactions to their preschool programs.

In areas relevant to this thesis, so little research has been conducted in Denmark that it is not possible to characterize a particular Danish approach or area of dominant interest. In an attempt to gain perspective on the scattered projects concerning children in the preschool years, a planning commission of the Ministry of Social Affairs gathered data from social medicine, dentistry, education and psychology, and issued in January of 1973 a listing of 93 completed, current and planned research projects. This overview will eventually be incorporated into an all-Scandinavian overview of corresponding material with the intention of facilitating collaboration across countries and perhaps across disciplines, too.

Danish Organizations Which Publish Materials Relevant to Child Care

- BRIS--(Children's Rights in Society)
- Børnesagens Fællesråd--(Joint Council for Children's Affairs)
- Børnehave og Fritidsgædagogseminariernes Fællesråd--(Joint Council of the seminaries training preschool and recreation professionals)
- Børne- og Ungdomsforsorgens Personaleforbund--Federation of personnel employed in licensed daytime institutions)
- BUPL--(The union for child care professionals)
- Dansk Barneplejeråd--(Danish Council for Child Care)
- Dansk Børneforsorgensarbejderes Sammenslutning--(The union of workers in child and youth homes)
- Dansk Børnehaveråd--(Organization for trained preschool teachers)
- Det Pædagogiske Selskab--(The Education Society)
- Danmarks Socialpædagogiske Rorening--(Denmark's Socio-educational Organization, a section of World Education Fellowship)
- Landsforeningen Forebyggende Børneværn--(National Organization for Child Welfare)
- Landsforeningen af Børne- og Ungdomsværn--(National Organization for Child and Youth Welfare)
- Red Barnet--(International Union for Child Welfare, coordinated with WHO)

Danish Journals Concerned with Child Care

- Barnet (The Child)
Bixen (Journal on environments and media for children and youth)
BRIS' Bladet (Paper published by the organization for children's rights)
Børnehaven (The Børnehave)
Børnelederen (Journal for heads of børnehave)
Børn og Unge (Paper published by the union of child and youth care professionals)
Børn i Tiden (Children of Today)
Dansk Pædagogiske Tidsskrift (The Danish Journal of Education)
Forældrebladet (The Parents' Paper)
Mentalhygiejne (Mental Hygiene)
Opdragelse (Child Rearing)
Pedagogik (Education Quarterly)
Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research
Skolepsykologi (School Psychology)
Socialpædagogen (The Socioeducational Professional)
Uddannelse (Journal of the Ministry of Education)
Uddannelsesstatistik (Education statistics)
Unge Pæagoger (The Young Educator)
Vore Daginstitutioner (Our Daytime Institutions)

VIII. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Part I of this study describes Danish child care programs from an administrative and organizational point of view, describes how they fit into the Danish social setting and social policy. The focus is on daytime group programs for 3 to 7 year olds. (Part II, bound as a separate volume, will analyze the programs in a sample of børnehavn and børnehaveklasse from an early childhood education point of view.) The following is a summary of Part I findings followed by a critical commentary.

All Danish child care programs come under the Ministry of Social Affairs, with the exception of the new, in-school børnehaveklasse. Programs must maintain government established minimum standards. Monitoring has previously been undertaken by a team of inspectors from the Central Directorate. This system for surveillance will be revised as the decentralization scheme shifts responsibility to the local kommuner. The Danish population at large shares the responsibility for the young through local lay Child and Youth Welfare Committees and by publicly supporting 65 percent of child care operating costs. The availability of starting grants has stimulated private initiative to establish approximately 75 percent of the needed institutions. By requiring building approval, the local Social Offices eliminate duplication of facilities and assure a closer approximation of services to community needs. Approval is based on local demand and the state of the economy; research evidence as to program effectiveness does not play a role in funding.

Programs are actually used by families from all strata of the population, though families with single parent, two parents working or parents in disadvantaged circumstances are given preference when places are limited.

In addition to educational and tending functions, most centers serve as a liason with the local Social Office to invoke medical, social, psychiatric or financial assistance for children who need it. In spite of the significant public subsidy, money comes without strings attached.

Within the centers, teachers have almost complete autonomy in styling the children's programs. As graduates of a three year education program at one of the børnehav seminaries (run by the Ministry of Education), teachers are skilled in working jointly with other adults, in running a flexible operation, in their handling of children's social and emotional conflicts, and in creating an open and relaxed atmosphere. The center's Head retains part-time teaching responsibility and continues to interact with the rest of the teaching staff as a peer rather than an administrative superior. Teacher-child ratios are educationally sensible (though from first hand observation the untrained aides are also figured into the calculations). Grouping of children has changed in the majority of centers from age stratified to vertically age-integrated groups. Amplifying on the trend to vertical integration, a new form of child care center, the Integrated Institution, has emerged since 1971. These experimental beginnings, all initiated from within the working staffs, are viewed favorably today. Parents have gained through legislation in 1971, voting power and representation on the center boards of directors.

Since 1966 family day care has burgeoned across the country. Effective and frequent monitoring, and careful screening and family matching, have contributed significantly to the success. Most original sceptics have become convinced that family day care has notable advantages for users (flexibility and intimacy, for the public (low overhead), and to the cartaking mothers (gainful employment and some informal vocational training while home-bound).

Also since 1966, børnehaveklasse have opened in an increasing

number of kommuner. These classes have won great popularity among users because they provide a more stimulating environment for 6 year olds, ease the transition from preschool to school, and operate free of charge to parents.

From this overview of the Danish child care offerings, it is apparent that an unusually comprehensive, well monitored variety of programs exists in Denmark. But there are some weak points in the system which deserve mention.

1. A disjunction in administration places children's programs under the Ministry of Social Affairs while the teacher education is under the Ministry of Education. This causes problems, the most fundamental of which are coordinating growth and changes. In the 1960's rapid building of børnehaver far outstripped the seminaries' abilities to produce trained teachers. New buildings stood empty and many Head positions were eventually filled with relatively inexperienced teachers. Child care programs have changed format (e.g. through regrouping according to vertical age-integration, through introduction of the børnehaveklasse) before the teacher training seminaries introduced the new subject matter into their curricula. The inspectors who have close contact with teachers, their problems and their skill needs come from and return to the Ministry of Social Affairs. There is no structure for feedback into the education system where the changes and additions need to be made.

2. A second weak point is in the organization, the quantity and the quality of in-service and advanced training. In-service courses for aides do not exist, even though in many classrooms the aide has as much contact with the children as the trained teacher does. As discussed on pages 79-81, what exists is a hodge podge of courses. Few courses require prerequisites. Therefore it is not uncommon to gear them to the lowest common denominator of the students enrolled. No institution

takes responsibility for offering a coordinated system of post graduate courses in early childhood education to build on the børnehavet teachers' background. (Exception: the Year Course of full-time study for two classes of 45 students each.) The seminary education is entirely separate from the University. Thus the børnehavet teacher's degree does not make her eligible to transfer into the university with any advanced standing to earn a degree in, for example, developmental or educational psychology.

3. The preschool teacher does not have much of a career ladder. To become the Head of a center or transfer to børnehavetklasse teaching is about the farthest she can go. In most cases, her salary increase is not great and the social status is not significantly different. The combination of lack of incentive for further education, the shortage of post graduate education offerings, the short career ladder and the only mediocre professional status and salary (relative, for instance, to public school teachers) may explain the high (56 percent) attrition rate.

4. There is almost no connection between Danish teacher training and research in early childhood education. Seminary faculty do not conduct research. The Institute for Social Research and the Institute for Educational Research have nothing to do with teacher education and rarely even take on a university graduate student. A few faculty at the Royal College of Education do research in child development topics, but they have heavy teaching loads and associate primarily with elementary and secondary education students. The important dynamic interaction between teaching and research is essentially absent.

5. The heavy orientation toward research, sophisticated methodology and experimental preschool programs is foreign to Denmark in comparison with the United States. There are very few projects in child development and fewer still in early childhood education. Most investigations are reported in Danish language publications, effectively limiting their impact to the Scandinavian countries.

6. Program evaluations are almost non-existent in spite of the fact that a full blown system of preschool programs has been operating for years. It is true that valid effect studies are tremendously difficult to design. But their absence in Denmark has more to do with the Danes' empirical approach, the fact that there are no massive poverty groups requiring specialized compensations programs, and the commitment of the general population to respectable child care options without requiring the research-tested stamp of approval.

One longitudinal effect study is under way in Sweden comparing children cared for at home with those attending preschool programs. An American in collaboration with Swedes at the Göteborg Lärarhögskolan is the principal investigator.

7. The opening hours of most centers are nine to twelve hours per day, five to five-and-a-half days a week. Parents who work evening shifts or week-ends still encounter major child care problems.

8. Parents have official representation and voting power on center boards. But whether or not the traditionally passive parent body is really more involved or influential is still a question. An organization of børnehavet parents has formed and is actively advocating its causes, one of which is to have parents included in the planning phases of new centers. To determine parent satisfaction with the arrangement and rearing practices of their child's caretaking situation, a research investigation sampling 5,000 Danish families is now underway. Three groups are being polled, those with children in group facilities, in family day care homes, and in some other private arrangement. The researchers at the Institute for Social Research and officials at the Ministry of Social Affairs are particularly interested in feedback from the last category.

9. The issue of the 3-hour børnehavetklasse has become controversial again. Enthusiasm over the pilot programs in 1966 triggered

Ministerial approval before the evaluation commission had fulfilled its function. Børnehaveklasse began burgeoning in school systems across the country. Few disagree that the educational programs are commendable. And the children attending are solid advocates. But educators and social planners are taking a second look now at the side effects these classes have created.

a. Families with children who need full day care are separated from those who can accomodate the 3 hour børnehaveklasse. Social stratification begins to resemble (in a minor way) the American day care/kindergarten dichotomy.

b. Børnehaveklasse children whose parents work must encounter multiplied milieu shifts each day. The parents must find a børnehav which will assume responsibility for the child during the time before, in transit to and from, and after his børnehaveklasse. Or they must find an after-school center which will accept a 6 year old--the minimum age generally being 7 years.

c. Establishing a separate intellectually stimulating program for 6 year olds has the effect of limiting focus of intellectual efforts to the oldest preschool group and simultaneously isolating the 6 year olds from the rest of the children. Perhaps a better alternative might be to upgrade the calibre of intellectual stimulation in the børnehav and take the 6 year olds on periodic visits to the school in order that the new school and child can become acquainted with each other. Most børnehaveklasse teachers report that the attempt to make the børnehav-kalsse an integral part of the school has not yet been at all effective. They feel they as teachers and the børnehaveklasse as a group are still socially and physically separate.

An ideal arena for research in child care and early childhood education exists in the on-going Danish preschool programs. Services

like family day care and formats like vertical age integration of groups-- whose form and effectiveness are issues of current concern in the United States--are in full operation in Denmark already. Organizational questions of relevance in the U.S., such as centralized v.s. decentralized administration, are apropos in Denmark where a massive reorganization is underway. Because most programs have been in existence for the last several decades, and because they will continue as part of an established commitment to social services, the opportunities for longitudinal and effect studies are favorable.

With the purpose of providing base-line description of the educational programs in the day care setting, and in the general interest of improving techniques for evaluating preschool environments, Part II of this project was designed. A sample of 20 preschool groups, 12 børnehav and 8 børnehaveklasse, were observed for their physical setting, daily life, characteristic activities and interpersonal relationships. Description and analysis of the data collected and theoretical implications of the Danish preschool experience on child development are included in Part II, bound under separate cover.

Footnotes, Chapter I

¹For statistics and discussion of changes in women's roles, employment patterns, child rearing practices and child care alternatives and for extensive bibliographies of relevant literature, see Howell (1973) and Ruderman (1968).

²I. Lazar and M. Rosenberg, "Day care in America," Day Care: Resources for Decisions, ed. E. Grotberg (Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1971), p. 213.

³F. Ruderman, Child Care and working Mothers (New York: Child Welfare League, 1968), p. 213.

⁴Gallo poll reported in the Congressional Record, April 2, 1971, p. E2764.

⁵For baseline description and further references on Soviet programs, see Bronfenbrenner (1972), Chauncey (1969), Lourie (1962), Meers and Marans (1968), Meers (1971), Robinson (1965), Schelovanova (1960), Tur (1954), Zaporozhets (1964).

⁶For information on childrearing on the kibbutzim, see Gerson (1970), Gewirtz and Gewirtz (1969), Neubauer (ed. 1965), Rabin (1965), and Spiro (1958, 1956). Contributions to recent journals reflect a somewhat more critical, less romantic approach to communal rearing practices on the kibbutz, e.g. Marburg (1970).

⁷Gilbert Austin, "A review of Early Education in Eight Countries," International Journal of Early Childhood, Vol. 5, no. 2, 1973, pp. 167-172.

Footnotes, Chapters III-VII

¹ Some of the original private philanthropic societies still exist. They continue to serve their particular commitments and to operate special homes. These include The Association of 1837, particularly involved in legal reforms of child law; The Danish Foster Home Association (1890) which operates midway homes for children who are to be placed outside their natural homes; The Christian Society for Child Welfare (1898) involved in youth rehabilitation; The Society for Youth Welfare (1906) which operates youth pensions, homes and apprenticeship type training programs. These societies, along with others established more recently, have all obtained public recognition and are now publicly grant-aided. For further information, see Holger Horsten, Børne- og ungdomsforsorgen i Danmark (Child and Youth Welfare in Denmark; Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1969), p. 35.

² Inger Lunn, Børnehavebarnet (The Børnehave Child; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971), pp. 14-15. (Passage translated from the Danish.)

³ Horsten, op. cit., p. 196.

⁴ Børne- og ungdomsforsorgens Pædagogiske Nævn, Om Børnehaveproblemer (Regarding Børnehave Problems; Copenhagen: Statens Trykningskontor, 1963).

⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

⁷ Throughout this Section, numbers given in parentheses refer to paragraphs of the Children and Young Persons Act, No. 193, of 4th June 1964 as amended in 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972. The English translation of this act is available from the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs and is included in the reference library of the Bank Street College of Education, New York, New York.

⁸ This is the composition of the CYWC as designated by Act No. 227 of 27 May 1971, amending the Child Law 193 in force.

⁹ Changes proposed and in progress are discussed in the following four publications: Mylov and Jorgensen, Indskoling (Transition-into-school Procedures; Copenhagen: Gyldendals, 1971); the Ministry of Education's journal Udannelse, special issue Feb. 73 and June 73; the Child and Youth Welfare Administration's report on Børnehaveproblemer 1963; Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift (The Danish Journal of Education) November 1972.

¹⁰ Inger Lunn, "Førskolepædagogik" (Preschool Education), Udannelse 70, Special number, September, 1970.

¹¹ Ballerup-Måløv Skolevæsen, Nyt om Børnehaveklassearbejdet i Ballerup-Måløv (News about Børnehaveklasse Work in the kommune of Ballerup-Måløv; Ballerup: Rådhuset, 1971).

¹² For research evidence, see the works of Hunt (1961, 1964), Hebb (1949), Krech, Rosenzweig, and Bennett (1964), Hess and Shipman (1965), Anastasi (1958), Bennett, Diamond, Drech and Rosenzweig (1964), Goldschmidt (1971), Piaget (1952), and Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968).

Footnotes (continued)

- ¹³ Hans Vejleskov, "Børn kan lare mere" in Børnehaveklassen--en del af en helhed? (Børnehaveklasse--a part of the whole?), ed. Børnehaveklasseforeningen (Skovlund: Børnehaveklasseforeningen, 1972), p. 52.
- ¹⁴ Hans Vejleskov, "Some Psychological Aspects of Various Pre-school Programmes," paper read at the C.C.C. Seminar on Research in Preschool Education in Jyväskylä, Finland, December 1971, pp. 10-11.
- ¹⁵ Ingelise Overgard, Betragtninger over Børnehavepædagogernes Praktiske Uddannelse (Thoughts about Preschool Teachers' Practical Training; Copenhagen: Frøbel Seminary, 1968).
- ¹⁶ Ballerup-Måløv Skolevæsen, op. cit., p. 22.
- ¹⁷ Socialstyrelsen, Vejledning om indretning af daginstitutioner (Guidance on the outfitting of daytime institutions; Copenhagen: Ministry of Social Affairs, 1973).
- ¹⁸ Arne Sjølund, Børnehavens og Vuggestuens Betydning for Barnets Udvikling (The Effect of Day Care Institutions on the Child's Development; Copenhagen: Teknisk Forlag, 1969), p. 43.
- ¹⁹ For a detailed description of the infant center professional's training program see Horsten, op. cit., p. 206 (in Danish); or see Marsden Wagner, "Training Group Day Care Workers," U.S. Office of Child Development Reports, Washington, D.C.: Office of Child Development, 1973. (in English)
- ²⁰ Lief Lunn, Daginstitutioner: Love og Bekendtgørelser (Daytime Institutions: Laws and Government Notices; Odense: Bogstykhuset, 1965), p. 28.
- ²¹ For a description of the kind of training available to family day care mothers, see Marsden Wagner, "Training Family Helpers and Family Day Care Mothers in Denmark," U.S. Office of Child Development Reports, Washington, D.C.: Office of Child Development, 1973.
- ²² Horsten, op. cit., p. 196.
- ²³ Eva Nordland (ed.), Førskolebarnet i dagens samfunn (The Preschool Child in Today's Society; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972).
- ²⁴ For an account of a parent group's establishment of a play group, see Dorte Jolander, "Lav et legested" (Make a play area), Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift, Special Number 8-9, November 1972, pp. 513-517. For details of steps to be taken by any group, including parents, to establish a børnehave proper, see "Om Indretning af en Børnehave" (On Outfitting a Børnehave), Dansk Børnehaveråd (rev. ed., mimeograph, 1967).
- ²⁵ Børne- og ungdomsforsorgens Pædagogiske Nævn, Om Børnehaveproblemer, p. 51.
- ²⁶ The most recent official publication with guidelines for outfitting, construction etc. of a børnehave is Socialstyrelsen, op. cit.

Footnotes (continued)

²⁷ A report from the Danish Institutue of Social Research states, "An important preventative function, which it is acknowledged that the børnehave handles better than the home is the prevention of accidents. According to international statistics, the most frequent causes of death among børnehave age children in developed countries are traffic accidents, followed by home accidents such as burning, scalding, and poisoning." Sjølund, op. cit., pp. 85, 311. The precautions taken in the børnehave suggest there are grounds for their claim to a safer environment.

²⁸ Horsten, op.cit., p. 230.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 232.

³⁰ Marsden Wagner, "A Cost Analysis of Day Care in Denmark," U.S. Office of Child Development Reports, Washington, D.C.: Office of Child Development, 1974, p. 9. (All dollar figures quoted are based on an exchange rate of 6 kroner per dollar. Cost figures are based on a 10 hour day and a 250 day year as average daily attendance (ADA).)

³¹ Ibid., p. 13.

³² For a listing of these organizations, see Horsten, op.cit., p. 44.

³³ Børn & Unge, vol. 5, no. 4, April 1974, p. 3.

³⁴ Ministry of Social Affairs, Om forældreindflydelse ved anerkendte daginstitutioner (On parent influence in approved daytime institutions; Ministry of Social Affairs Circulaire no. 44, 1970).

³⁵ See Udannelse, Special Number, February, 1973 on the role and work of the psychologist today, yesterday and in the future in Denmark.

³⁶ Ministry of Social Affairs, Betænkning om rådgivning inden for det sociale område (Report on Guidance within the social sector; Report No. 169, Copenhagen: Ministry of Social Affairs, 1971).

³⁷ Since the teachers have fewer custodial functions to perform for children who attend only part day, the ratio of staff to children may be slightly less. The formula for determining the number of trained professionals in a half-day børnehave is:

$$\frac{\text{no. of children enrolled in institution}}{20 \text{ children per group}} \times \frac{\text{no. of hours open per week}}{\text{per week}} = \text{no. of trained professionals}$$

Final adjustments are made for facility's limitations, handicapped children, etc.

³⁸ Ministry of Education Bulletin, Training of the Teaching Staff at the Preschool Level in the Scandinavian Countries, with special reference to the Danish Situation. (mimeograph in English; Copenhagen: Ministry of Education, 1971).

³⁹ Lief Lunn, op. cit., p. 28.

Footnotes (continued)

- ⁴⁰ Horsten, op. cit., p. 200
- ⁴¹ Hedvig Jacoby, "Er vore daginstitutioner tidssvarende?" (Are our daytime institutions relevant?) Socialpædagogen, no. 16, September, 1970.
- ⁴² KAB, Fremtidige Daginstitutioner for Børn (Future Institutions for Children; Copenhagen: KAB, 1971).
- ⁴³ KAB, En beskrivelse af dagsrhythme i vuggestuer, børnehaver, fritidshjem med hensyn til børn og pædagoger (A description of the daily rhythm in infant centers, børnehaver and after-school centers with regard to children and teachers; Copenhagen: KAB, 1971).
- ⁴⁴ Agnete Helmstedt, "Førskolepædagogik i Danmark" (Preschool Education in Denmark), Førskolebarnet i dagens samfund, ed. Eva Nordland, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972), p. 159.
- ⁴⁵ Ministry of Education Bulletin, op. cit., p. 1.
- ⁴⁶ P.V. Bentsen, Pasning af Gifte Kvinders Småbørn (Caretaking of Married Women's Small Children; Copenhagen: Teknisk Forlag, 1968).
- ⁴⁷ Paragraph 74 of the Danish Child Act 193 states that loans up to 85% of the purchase price may be obtained from private or public sources. Grants for property or furnishings are available for up to 35% of the costs which cannot be covered by loans, and the state grant must be matched by a local grant, with the total grant not exceeding 70% of the expenses.
- ⁴⁸ P. V. Bentsen, op. cit.
- ⁴⁹ The demand by upper economic levels for børnehaver places reflects an attitude held by Danes quite different from that observed in America by Peters and Sibbison, Considerations in the Assessment of Day Care Needs (CHSD Report No. 12, University Park, Pa.: Center for Human Services Development, 1972): "Where state or local subsidies are provided or where day care is part of a larger social service program, attitudes towards the "welfare system" also come into play. People do not demand (welfare) services which are held in low esteem in their community." p. 11. Danes, on the contrary, have a positive attitude toward social welfare services and in fact make heavy demands for them.
- ⁵⁰ Sjølund, op. cit., p. 18.
- ⁵¹ This 1960 investigation revealed that of the 650 Danish børnehaver, almost 70% accepted children who attended only half-day. Thirteen percent were exclusively Half-day Børnehaver, operating only part day. Of the total number of children in børnehaver, 21% attended half-day. Of this half-day population, 87% attended during the morning hours. (Om Børnehaverproblemer, op. cit., p. 23.)
- ⁵² Ibid., p. 67.
- ⁵³ Different kinds of seminaries exist to train teachers for elementary and secondary schools (lærerseminarer), professionals for infant centers and residential institutions (børneforsorgs seminarier) and for recreation, after-school and youth club workers (fritidsseminarer).

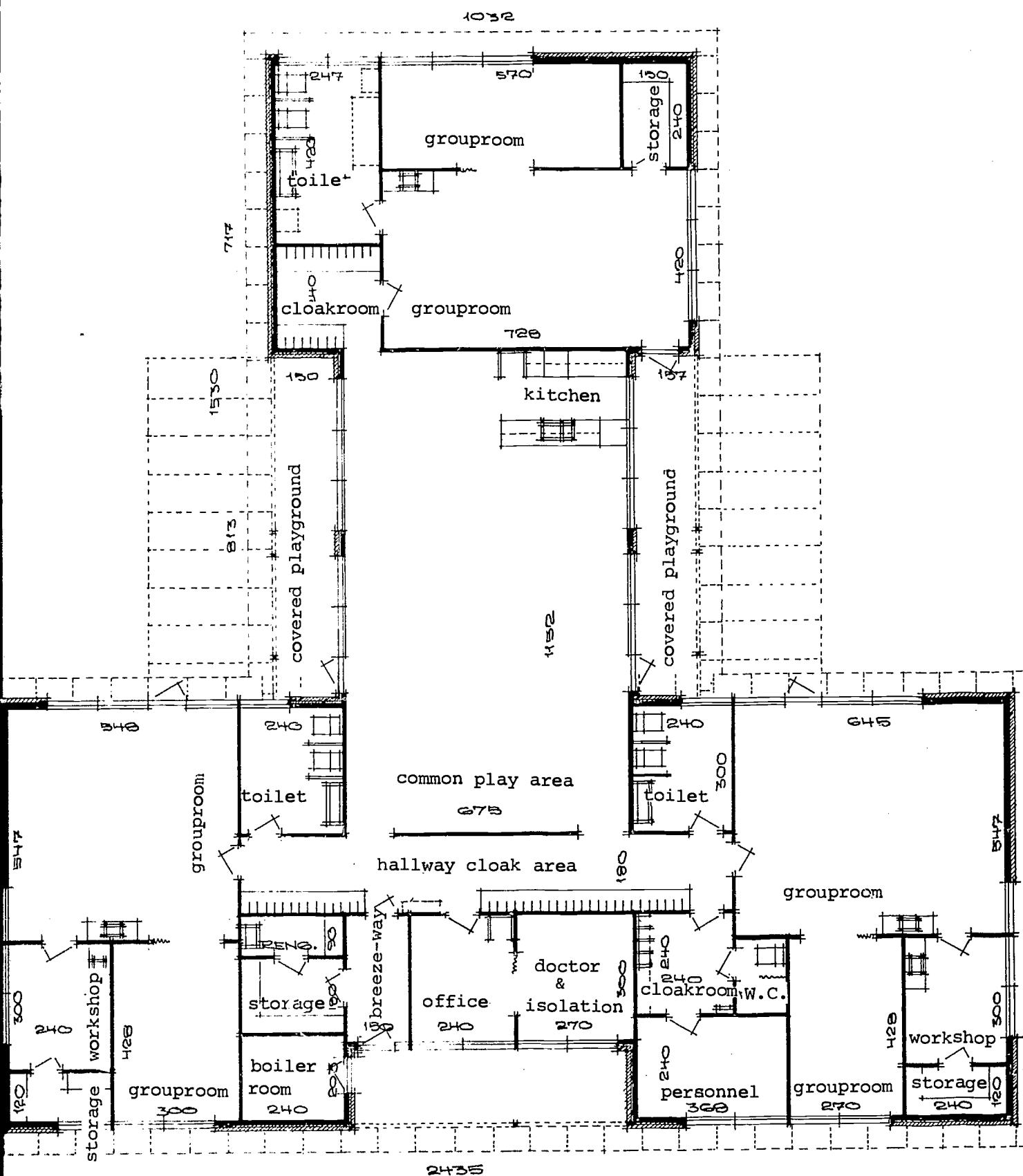
Footnotes (continued)

Plans for the future are to restructure the training for professionals in the socio-educational service fields to include a common first year of basic courses which will improve opportunities for later career mobility among these professions and provide a foundation for better inter-professional communication.

⁵⁴For descriptions of the curriculum prescribed by the state see Wagner, "Training Group Day Care Workers," op. cit., and the Ministry of Education Bulletin, op. cit., which also includes a description of the Danish philosophy and approach to training teachers for early childhood education.

APPENDIX A

Blueprint for one børnehave designed to serve 60 children.



Scale 1:125

Capacity = 3 x 20 children

Total area = 369 m² (incl. boilerroom)

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